

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

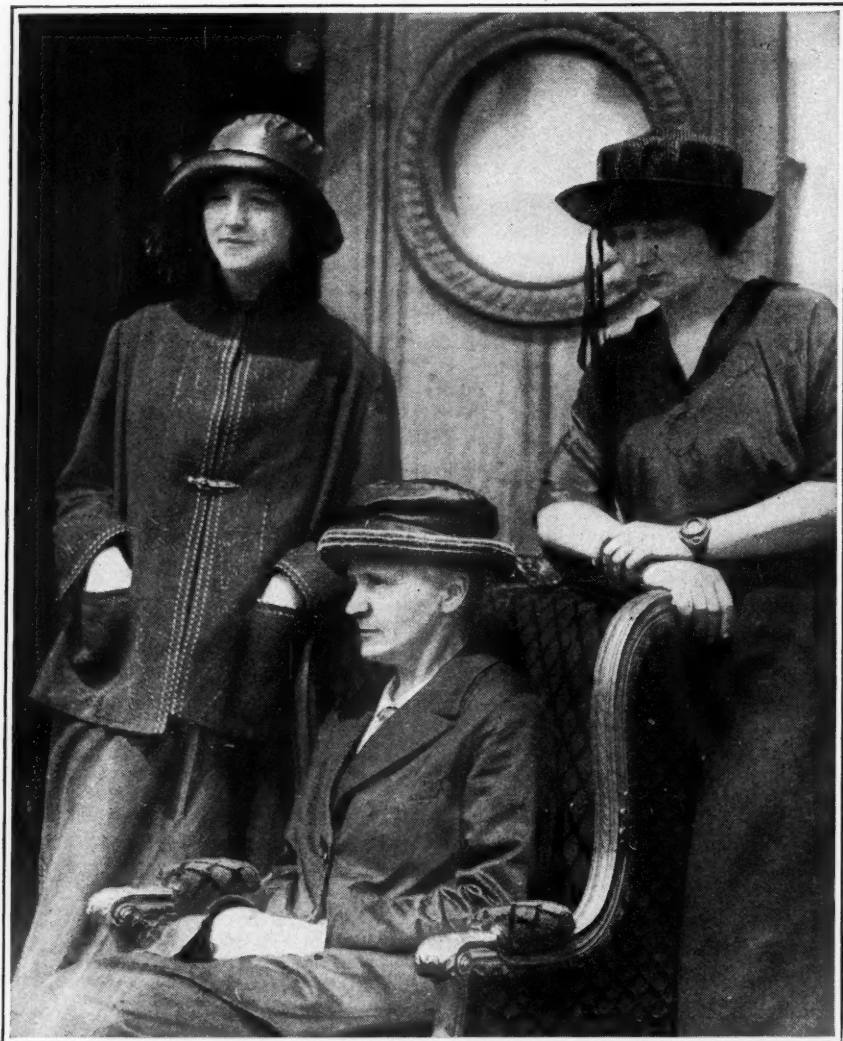
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR JUNE, 1921

Mme. Marie Curie	<i>Frontispiece</i>	Germany Takes Her Medicine	597
The Progress of the World—		BY FRANK H. SIMONDS	
What Is Everyman's Business	563	Radium, the Metal of Mystery	606
Germany's Behavior Vital	563	BY NELL RAY CLARKE	
France Wins an Economic Victory	563	Protecting the Small Investor	611
America Gives Assurance	564	BY SAMUEL SPRING	
Disarmament Must Follow	564	Is a Business Revival in Sight?	615
Half-closing the Door to Strangers	564	BY DAVID FRIDAY	
Is There an American Race and Destiny?	565	Squandering Our Mechanical Power	618
Arguments for and against Restriction	565	BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER	
Requisites of a True Population Policy	567	Commission Government Under Test	623
To Populate the Neglected Farm Lands	567	BY M. M. WILNER	
The Question of Schools	568	<i>With illustration</i>	
The Demand for Equal Opportunity	568	From Senate to Presidency	625
How to Colonize Farmers	569	BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY	
The Wrong Way to Help Soldiers	569	The Army as a School	627
Neglected Resources of New York	569	BY THEODORE M. KNAPPEN	
The New "Country-Life" Movement	570	<i>With illustrations</i>	
The Farmer and His Problems	570	An Imperial Conference	636
How City Slums Were Abolished	571	BY P. T. McGRATH	
Conditions in the Eastern States	571	Oil in the Frozen North	639
Pushing Consolidated Schools	572	BY J. W. SMALLWOOD	
In the Middle West	572	<i>With illustrations</i>	
City Planning a Success	572	War Memorials	645
The Age of Cooperation	573	BY ERNEST KNAUFFT	
People of the Eastern Mountains	573	<i>With illustrations</i>	
Hardships of Rural America	573	Leading Articles of the Month—	
Foreclosing the Mortgages	574	On the Famine Front in Shantung	652
Teaching Agriculture	574	Italy's Compliments to Uncle Sam	653
The Best Type of Country School	574	The Navy at School	654
Farm Population as Best Asset	574	New Types of Immigrants	655
Georgia Aroused	575	Britain's Coal	656
"Peonage" a Mere Symptom	575	M. Poincaré's Comment on Current Events	657
Progress of the Weaker Race	576	An European Analysis of Bolshevism	658
An Apology in Cash Form	577	A Famous Prehistoric Earthwork in Danger	660
Clearing the Way for Mexico	577	The Union of Central America	661
Panama's Boundaries, Our Affair	578	War Damage to Industrial France	663
Marines in Haiti and San Domingo	578	Lord Northcliffe on Ireland and Peace	665
Porto Rico and the President	579	International Postal Rates	666
Preparing for Insular Representation	579	The Eight-Hour Day in France	667
Secretary Mellon's Plan for Texas	580	The International Language Problem	669
Important Items of Revision	580	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>	
Substitutes for Excess-Profits Tax	581	The New Books	670
Opposition to a Sales Tax	581	<i>With portraits</i>	
The Emergency Tariff Bill	581		
Farm Products at Pre-War Prices	581		
Competition Hurting the Railroads	582		
The Railroad Wage Question	582		
Ought Freight Rates to Be Reduced?	583		
The Outlook for General Business	583		
The German Reparation Bonds	584		
What Are the Bonds Worth?	584		
Record of Current Events	585		
<i>With illustrations</i>			
A Survey of Domestic and Foreign			
Cartoons	590		

TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere \$5.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York
Pacific Coast Office, 327 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.
ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



MME. MARIE S. CURIE, WIDOW OF PROF. PIERRE CURIE, AND WITH HIM
CO-DISCOVERER OF RADIUM, WITH HER TWO DAUGHTERS

Mme. Curie was born in Poland and pursued her studies at Warsaw and later at Paris. On the death of her husband in 1906 she succeeded him as professor of physics and director of the physical laboratory at the Sorbonne. In 1911 she received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. She arrived in this country on May 11, in response to an invitation from a group of American women who had raised over \$100,000 with which to purchase a gram of radium to be presented to Mme. Curie at Washington by President Harding. See the article by Miss Clarke on page 606.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXIII

NEW YORK, JUNE, 1921

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*What is
Everyman's
Business*

For a long time past we have endeavored in these pages to bring home to every reader the fact that world problems have now become local and personal, in the sense that they have a bread-and-butter interest for almost every man, woman and child in the United States as well as in other countries. Thousands of farms have been foreclosed on mortgages in the United States within a few months past, because world conditions have made cotton, wheat and other products unmarketable at prices equal to the cost of production. Millions of industrial workers are out of employment because of an economic stagnation that is universal. In the nature of things, reconstruction after the Great War could not be achieved with the changing seasons of a twelvemonth. It is not true that the business reactions, and the distress of millions of people are due primarily to the failure of the United States to ratify the Versailles treaty. The essential thing was that Germany, having signed that treaty, should accept its main terms in good faith and undertake to win back her place in Europe and in the world by meeting her obligations. This was everybody's affair.

*Germany's
Behavior
Vital*

Many other things, indeed, were necessary as great steps toward the return of normal times; but Germany's behavior was the vital thing. Why and how this has been true, constitute questions which Mr. Simonds has from month to month been answering for our readers with remarkable clearness. Toward the end of April and in the first weeks of May, European history was made with extraordinary rapidity, and with what are at least very hopeful aspects. Again our readers are referred, for a full statement of the agreement that has now been made between Germany and the Allies on the question of the payment of reparations bills, to the pages

in the present number of the REVIEW contributed by Mr. Simonds. In a word, let us state here that a large sum of money was due from Germany on May 1, under the terms of the treaty signed two years ago. Germany was avoiding payment, and France was mobilizing a great army to occupy the most important manufacturing district of Germany. The Berlin Government was making appeals to the Harding Administration to help adjust terms. Secretary Hughes, in reply, made it clear that the United States held, with the Allies, that Germany must meet the conditions worked out by the Reparations experts.

*France Wins
an Economic
Victory*

France, on the open request of England, and with the implied desire of the United States, gave Germany a few more days of grace, and there resulted a complete acceptance—by vote of the German Reichstag—of the revised reparations terms of the Allied governments. A new German ministry, headed by Dr. Joseph Wirth (eminent financier) was formed to take responsibility. Just what those terms are is set forth in detail by Mr. Simonds. The important thing for our purposes is the fact that French firmness has won a great economic victory, not merely for the good of France herself, but for the real welfare of all countries, including Germany. The terms as accepted can be met, if European reconstruction moves reasonably well along the lines now in sight. As Mr. Simonds shows us, however, there must be a speedy settlement of the Silesian question in order that German disarmament may be completed promptly and in good faith. In our "Record of Current Events," which is prepared each month with care, though with great condensation, the reader will find noted the successive steps in the history of this struggle to adjust the reparations question from the middle of April to the Middle of May.



MARSHAL FOCH

(In civilian clothes at the London conference on German reparations, where by his military firmness he helped win a new victory of an economic nature)

*America
Gives
Assurance*

Accompanying the

hopeful and welcome news that Germany had, as Mr. Simonds puts it, taken her medicine, came great reassurance to all countries by reason of the fact that the Harding Administration is helping things along with an air of friendliness, confidence and healthy poise that suggests sunshine after protracted gloom. Uncle Sam had been saying very plainly—though without shrillness or excitement—that the adjustments following the war must not be made regardless of our interests,

whether or not we sign a particular treaty, or enter a certain League of Nations. Thereupon, with entire frankness and without embarrassment, the Harding Administration decides to accept the renewed invitation coming through Mr. Lloyd George to occupy a chair in the sittings of the Allied Supreme Council, another chair in the Council of Ambassadors, and a third one in the all-important Reparations Commission. Secretary Hughes designates Ambassador Harvey to attend the Supreme Council, Ambassador Wallace to be present with the Ambassadors, and Mr. Roland W. Boyden to resume his interrupted attendance upon the Reparations Commission. All this is in the spirit of helpfulness; and in due time the more formal aspects will be worked out and announced. Meanwhile, on suggestion of President Harding and Secretary Hughes, the Knox peace resolution, which had passed the Senate, was delayed in the House. In paragraphs that will be found on later pages of this editorial survey will be found some discussion of the assistance that American investors may be asked to render in making the reparations policy an immediate success. First the financiers must agree then the public must endorse and help.

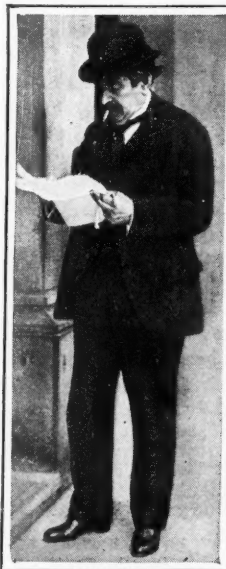
*Disarmament
Must
Follow*

It is to be desired that many great problems of readjustment should be solved sweepingly and without delay. And, indeed, it is true that there is a great demand everywhere for disarmament. But in practice disarmament must wait upon the settlement of certain acute issues, and upon the strengthening of understandings for the maintenance of peace. France cannot disarm until she feels a sense of security. The United States cannot disarm until certain governments show their willingness to subordinate their ambitions to a scheme of justice for all, and to a method of ascertaining and applying justice in particular cases. Burdened taxpayers cry out for relief from the overwhelming cost of armies and navies. It is evidently the intention of our new Administration to help clear the way as rapidly as possible for a safe and a sweeping reduction of army and navy expenditures. A powerful debate was taking place in Congress last month, in view of the pending army and navy appropriation bills covering this whole field of policy.

*Half-closing
the Door to
Strangers*

On May 3 the Senate passed the so-called Dillingham bill, restricting immigration into the United States from foreign countries. With Senator Reed of Missouri alone in opposing the measure, seventy-eight Senators voted in favor of

it. Eleven days earlier, on April 22, the bill had been accepted in the House of Representatives with such unanimity that neither friend nor opponent had asked for a roll-call. Secretary Hughes had within a few days presented to Congress a mass of information as to conditions in Europe, and had made it clear that the Harding Administration favored restrictions without delay. The bill as passed by Congress was, with minor changes, the same measure that President Wilson had



PREMIER BRIAND, OF
• FRANCE

(A photographer's snapshot at the London conference)

vetoed as one of his last acts in office. It is too obvious for discussion that the opinion of Congress is in accord with that of the country. The data supplied by the State Department showed that in certain European countries there were certain numbers of people, not regarded as desirable citizens in their own communities, awaiting transportation to the United States, with the aid or encouragement of the governments which could well spare them. The new measure does not slam the door in the face of waiting multitudes, but it narrows the opening.

*Helping Them
in Their Own
Places*

The position of certain Americans who think that this country should continue indefinitely to receive all those who for any reason desire to come here from other parts of the world is either a theoretical attitude or else is lacking in devotion to established American institutions. Those who are sincere in thinking that America should welcome in unlimited numbers the peoples of Asia and the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe may indeed be moved by generous sympathies. But they have in mind one phase of population questions while forgetting other phases. They should remember that our power to help others depends upon maintaining our own national character. Thus the alien people most needing our help at the present time are those in the famine districts of China. We have been helping them in the right way by sending them food. To bring them here for their better relief would create such problems as would lessen our ability to be of use to the world in times to come. At enormous sacrifice to ourselves we went to Europe to help (among other things) create an independent Poland. It will be a good while before Poland can be well adjusted to the new conditions. We have already done a great deal to assist Poland; and those Americans who have the interests of the Poles at heart—whether Polish Jews or Polish Slavs—should continue to help the Poles in Poland. Similar remarks are applicable to other races in Europe and in Western Asia.

*Is There an
American Race
and Destiny?*

If we should, within the next two or three years, bring several millions of these non-English-speaking aliens to this country, the temporary results would be disappointing, while the permanent consequences might be seriously harmful. There is a rather wide-



DR. JOSEPH WIRTH

(Who became Chancellor of Germany upon the reorganization of the Cabinet prior to the acceptance of the Allies' reparations demands)

spread notion in Europe and in parts of Asia that the United States is a prosperous and highly favored country that really belongs to everybody, and that it is the inherent right of people of all nations, races and tongues to come and go freely, so far as America is concerned. They admit that Italy may properly be run for the best interests of Italians; that Russia may justly be regarded as having a Russian destiny; that Germany,

in spite of deserved defeat, will doubtless remain German; and that Rumania will not change its national character. But it does not seem to be the general opinion abroad that America is the home of Americans, who are justified in desiring to keep the country moving along recognized lines of political, economic and social progress. They think of America as interracial, with a hundred hyphens,—hybrid and polyglot. The outbreak of the Great War in Europe revealed to us the extent to which we had been giving hospitality to immense masses of unassimilated European population. Hundreds of thousands of Germans went back to fight an aggressive war which in due time involved us; and other hundreds of thousands went back to Austria, while a great number returned to Russia, many of whom have helped to sustain the Bolshevik conspiracy against such political institutions as our own. There has been aroused here a strong feeling that we, as Americans, have also a right to maintain our language and our American destiny.

*Arguments for
and Against
Restriction*

Thus it became the general opinion in the United States that our immigration policy had been reckless and unwise, and that in a variety of ways it had subjected us to harm and loss. There became evident a very vigorous movement in this country in favor of a complete shutting down of immigration for a brief period—from two to five years. While the theoretical arguments in favor of

complete suspension were impressive, there were many practical difficulties. Families were seeking reunion; and the closed door seemed too harsh and inhospitable. Organizations representing particular races or religions have their own clannish reasons for opposing changes in our immigration policy; and the longer the doors are left wide open, the stronger, of course, become the political and other influences that these foreign groups are able to exert. Furthermore, in times of peace, there had been large capitalistic interests favorable to unlimited immigration because of their desire to secure an ample supply of common labor for coal-mining districts, railroads, steel mills, textile industries, and so on. Also, the steamship companies were always promoting immigration for profit to themselves. Organized labor, on the other hand, has favored restrictions in order that high wages and American standards of living may be maintained; and it so happens that the great "Americanization" movement, which had its origin in the war period, has tended toward restriction on grounds of far-reaching national policy.

How the Dillingham Bill figures of our census of 1910 as its starting point. The total yearly immigration is to be restricted to 3 per cent. of the foreign-born population as found in 1910. Such population of European birth (not counting those from Canada or other parts of the Western Hemisphere) was something less than 12,000,000. Three per cent. of this number would be somewhat under 360,000. This would amount in its actual working effect to a reduction of the stream of immigration to about one-third of its volume as compared with the years of large movement. The effect upon the character and quality of the stream, however, is regarded at Washington as even more important than the reduction of the total volume. The information furnished by Secretary Hughes showed that people most eager to come were not those who could most readily be assimilated here. If Congress had chosen to base the restriction upon the census of 1920, the total number of immigrants for the coming year on the 3 per cent. plan would not have been much increased. After 1914 the average movement to this country was greatly reduced, while many aliens went back to Europe. Thus the percentage of foreign-born inhabitants enumerated in the census of 1920 is less than in earlier periods.

Parceling Out the Invitations If the new arrivals for the next twelvemonth were to come helter-skelter till a third of a million had arrived, on the principle of "first come, first served," the results would be determined largely by the activities of competing steamship lines. The 3 per cent. principle, however, is applied, not merely to fix the total, but also to fix the distribution among nations and races. Thus it is calculated that we shall be able to admit about 77,000 people from the United Kingdom, about 75,000 from Germany, and something less than 40,000 from the Scandinavian countries and Finland. When it comes to the countries that in 1910 were under the rule of the Emperor Francis Joseph, some puzzling calculations may be necessary in order to find out just how many Hungarians, Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Rumanians, and Italians are entitled to come from those regions which are no longer parts of what was the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in addition to the Austrian Germans. There were about two million people of Canadian birth residing in the United States according to the census of 1910, and therefore the doors will be open to about 60,000 Canadians during the coming year. The actual administration of this new law is going to be difficult, and it will probably be found necessary to waive narrow technicalities. Thus, immigration statistics have been based more particularly upon the political allegiance of



MAKING A BAD SITUATION WORSE

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)

[Mr. McCutcheon here expresses a popular feeling that we are in danger of bringing in a new army of European immigrants to compete in the cities with the existing army of the unemployed, while neglecting the sign-post pointing to the farming districts]

arrivals, while census statistics have given closer attention to actual distinctions of race and language. It is obvious that, in order to be effective, the checking up must be done at the ports of embarkation abroad as well as at the ports of arrival here.

*A Purely
Temporary
Device*

The bill as passed was intended to meet immediate conditions, and it will cease to apply after June 30, 1922, unless extended by further action. It must be remembered that this bill is adopted as a substitute for the proposal to cut off all immigration for a year or two. There still remains the necessity of enacting immigration laws which shall embody a more permanent policy. It might have been better to make the present measure effective for two years, during which time a more lasting measure could be devised. Congress is facing a tremendous amount of important business, and it is quite unlikely that a permanent new immigration policy can be written into the statute books in time to take effect thirteen months hence. We are assuming that the slight changes made in the bill by the Senate will have been adjusted in conference and that the measure will have been promptly signed by President Harding. It may be predicted that, once in effect, it will be found necessary, at this time next year, to extend the date and give the bill validity for at least one more year, that is, until June 30, 1923. Meanwhile, as regards the actual incoming of undesirables since the armistice, it should be remembered that when the outgoing steerage movement is compared with the total of incoming arrivals, the net accretion of alien population has been far below the normal of the pre-war period. For the past eighteen months, the net gain has been at the rate of barely 200,000 a year; while in the twelvemonth following the armistice the net loss was at about that rate.

*Requisites of
a Population
Policy*

Congress ought at once to set on foot a thorough study of this whole question of our national population as affected by ebb and flow from foreign countries. This new restriction measure of 1920 should be considered at Washington, and everywhere else, as a mere temporary device, pending the consideration of a statesmanlike policy. A comprehensive form of land colonization, under the joint auspices of the Federal and State governments, is the most important requisite. We

could absorb a million well-selected immigrants every year, if we had a proper system of distribution, with definite work for the newcomers and suitable prospects for every family. Within the memory of our older citizens, many of the Western States had immigration bureaus, with agents abroad; and they brought a desirable class of people to help settle the prairies and build up the agriculture of the Mississippi Valley and the Northwest. That period has passed away. The fertile lands that were given freely by Uncle Sam, or that could be bought from the land-grant railroads for a dollar and a quarter an acre, are now worth from fifty dollars to five hundred dollars an acre. The immigrants cannot, of themselves, enter the agricultural life of those States.

*To Populate
the Neglected
Farm Lands*

Meanwhile, vast areas of once cultivated land are neglected, and rural population is at a standstill, while the cities grow in population and wealth. Periods of inflation, like that produced by our war policies, still further depopulate the rural districts and mass people in the industrial centers, attracted by high wages, short hours, and the various allurements of city life. Reactions in business are inevitable after such periods of expansion, and then the unhealthy tendencies of the times are apparent. With millions of people out of employment in the industrial centers, the arguments for country life gain a little better hearing. But country life will be at a disadvantage until broad mistakes of public policy are clearly recognized and boldly corrected. The municipal corporation exercising public power, and the industrial and commercial corporation exercising economic power, have been creating advantages for town-dwelling populations that compete unduly with anything that rustic communities can provide from their own resources for their own people. The State as a whole, aided, if need be, by the national Government, should adopt policies for the maintenance and further development of agricultural life and for the prosperity and success of rural communities.

*Some
Reforms
Needed*

Land speculation should be discouraged and broken up, by better devised methods of taxation. The small farmer should be enabled to own his own land, and have a comfortable home, through a system under which capital will be advanced, to be reimbursed by payments

over a long period. Good roads should be provided and maintained on a scientific plan. With good roads, there should be consolidated country schools; and these should be maintained, not by the country community itself, but by the resources of the entire State. Country children should not be penalized, but, if anything, should be preferred and favored. Taking the country as a whole, North and South, East and West, the most shocking social contrast in the United States is that which exists between the wonderfully good schools for poor children living in towns and cities, and the fearfully bad schools for poor children living in country districts.

*The Question
of
Schools*

Furthermore, the families of poor children in the country do vastly more to provide education for their own children than do the families of poor children living in the cities. The concentrated wealth of the cities, which is drawn upon to provide the splendid schools that are available for all city children, is derived from the common efforts of the country as a whole. In the last analysis, that massed wealth is more dependent upon the maintenance of country life than upon that of the cities. Until precisely as good school facilities are provided, as a matter of public policy and at public cost, for the country children of New York or Georgia or Nebraska as for the city children of Buffalo or Atlanta or Omaha, the country people will have a deep grievance; and the States themselves will continue to develop in a disproportionate way that will, some time, have seriously disastrous results.

*The Larger Problem
Includes
Immigration*

With this present tendency to mass population in the cities, the evils of an unrestricted immigration policy become intensified. There is no means by which the country districts, under existing conditions, can absorb, and wholesomely train and develop, the alien population. These newcomers colonize themselves in the cities, where the very fact of their concentration makes it the more difficult to Americanize them, and where by sheer force of numbers they Europeanize our towns and cities in a bad sense. The real problem, therefore, is not so much one of immigration, narrowly considered, as one of our American population tendencies considered broadly. If we had a proper way to distribute immigrants and had a well-developed system of farm colonization, we could safely

admit two or three times as many foreigners as it is now desirable to bring in.

*The Demand
for Equal
Opportunity*

These are not ill-considered observations. They note realities that are beginning to be recognized by many thoughtful people. Fortunately, there are indications that the country is beginning to awaken to a perception, not only of the facts but also of causes and of remedies. One of the first principles now gaining recognition is that which involves the necessity of a trained and capable democratic citizenship, which demands education for work and life and responsibility, and which looks toward policies that will help everybody alike—whether native-born or alien, whether living in country or living in town. In short, it is the principle of equal opportunity. There was undoubtedly a period when the comforts of the prosperous countryside and the villages were greater than those of ordinary dwellers in our largest cities. High death rates and bad conditions in general made municipal reform a pressing need. It is, upon the whole, a very fine record of advancement that our cities and towns can show during the past quarter century. We are very far from disparaging this progress of the cities, and it has been a part of the function of this magazine during that period to note and encourage every form of betterment in our permanent centers of American life. What is now demanded is to bring to the country dwellers an equal opportunity to enjoy the benefits of modern progress.

*Cities Now
Need Rural
Revival*

From the standpoint of population, the towns and cities have been greatly enriched by the movement of strong and capable young men and young women from the farms, to become leaders in all kinds of business and social activity. The vitality and the splendor of our new urban development is amazing. Great things are planned in many of these centers of American population for their external beauty, for their civic dignity, and for the happiness of their people. But the time has come when the further healthful future of the cities themselves requires the rebuilding of the life of the rural districts; and this rebuilding should be sweepingly democratic in its purpose and spirit. The good-roads system is not merely to open up scenic nature in the country for the city man with his touring car. This, indeed, is a worthy object.

But the good-roads movement, first and foremost, should promote the welfare of the largest possible number of people who live and work in country districts. It should definitely coincide with the consolidated school movement. It should fall in with a land policy which would make it safe and reasonably profitable for a much larger number of families to own farms. It should be correlated with a kind of statewide instruction in the arts of agriculture and country life that would promote coöperative marketing and standardize conditions of production. The public policies which have made Denmark so prosperous in all the aspects of country life are, with the proper American modifications, capable of completely transforming many of our American States.

*How to
Colonize
Farmers*

We have published in this magazine more than one article showing how the State of California is trying experimentally to create a standard system of agricultural colonization. Secretary Lane did his best to persuade Congress to enact a comprehensive measure under which the federal Government would coöperate with the State governments in creating farm colonies essentially on this California plan—a plan well known in Canada, Australia and other countries. This measure had particular reference to the ex-service men; but the ideas underlying the Secretary's plans belong to the essentials of a general and permanent policy. Mr. Lane's proposals enlisted the hearty support of such members of Congress as were really conversant with facts and situations; but the policy was ahead of the nation's thinking; and it will require the education of a great many more statesmen—both national and local leaders—before the country will be ready to enter upon comprehensive plans for the rebuilding of this country.

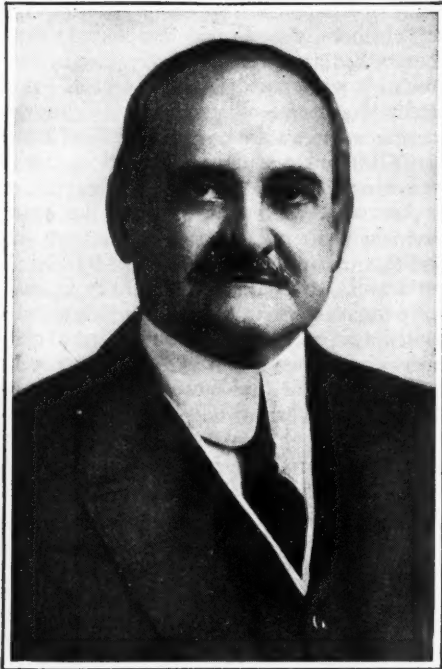
*The Wrong
Way to Help
Soldiers*

Having pioneered America from one coast to the other, the time has come for a new process—that of the permanent maintenance of our soils by a proper system of farming, and that of setting up a type of farm communities that may serve to restore the balance, now completely lost, between town and country life. The State of New York, with the best of motives, but without careful consideration, decided last year on a referendum vote to distribute forty-five million dollars in cash bonuses to the young men of that State who had served in the Great War. It is quite

true that the men who wore the uniform were shamefully underpaid, and that the men who worked safely eight hours a day in war industries were scandalously overpaid. But distributing to ex-soldiers what will in the end amount to an average of something more than \$100 apiece will do very little to right the wrong that was due to the false policies adopted at Washington. If, on the other hand, the State of New York had appropriated this maximum sum of \$45,000,000, or, better still, a round \$100,000,000 to be used as a permanent revolving fund under a well-devised system to help ex-service men own farms and homes—with expert assistance in working out the problems of farm communities—New York would have done something of real value to the men, while at the same time initiating a great policy now desperately needed for the reconstruction of country life in the State of New York.

*Neglected
Resources
of New York*

There has just appeared, as the first in a new series of books, a volume entitled "Rural New York." It has been prepared under the editorial direction of that famous apostle of farm life, Professor L. H. Bailey, and its author is Mr. Elmer O. Fippin, of the State College of Agriculture. This book sets forth with scientific accuracy the facts as to the various climates, soils, resources, and products of that magnificent portion of our country that belongs to our wealthiest and most populous State. It is not, however, the function of Mr. Fippin's remarkable little book to show to what an extent the population and wealth of New York is now aggregated in New York City and half a dozen other large towns. By the census of 1920, New York State has 10,384,144 people, of whom 54 per cent. are living within the municipal limits of New York City. Many of the rural districts have been losing population for several decades, while most of the strictly farming regions, if not losing, are practically at a standstill. Taking the average farm-land prices over the past ten or twenty years, this splendid State, with its marvelous resources, the intrinsic value of which is not exaggerated by Professor Fippin, shows a great decline in the prosperity and success of country life when compared with the period, let us say, from 1820 to 1860. The tendency has been to bring foodstuffs and raw materials from ever-increasing distances, while neglecting the resources of New York State. The acreage of standing crops was



HON. WESTMORELAND DAVIS, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

(Governor Davis last month called a conference at Richmond to consider the problems of farmers in country communities, particularly as they concerned Virginia and neighboring States)

much greater seventy-five years ago than in the present century. Land has deteriorated, and farm values have suffered decline.

*The New
"Country-Life"
Movement*

It would be greatly to the advantage of New York City in the long run if a way could be found to revive the State's agriculture and to build up the country communities. There are those who think that these things should be left to regulate themselves, without the intervention of public policy. But this argument is only impressive where there is failure to analyze those facts which would show that the present tendencies are artificial rather than natural, and that they rest upon public policies which can be greatly modified if not wholly reversed. There are those who say that if you will but show the farmer how to make money all the other phases of the problem of country life will take care of themselves. There is a limited amount of truth in this statement, but it does not by any means suffice. From the standpoint of public policy, the problem is not to show a certain number of farmers how to make more

money; but it is to show a vastly increased number of people how to live intelligently and happily, as progressive Americans under rural conditions. There has been formed a great Country Life Association which under the presidency of Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts State Agricultural College, sees these matters of national concern in true perspective. The scope of that society was well presented in the April number of this magazine by Professor Dwight Sanderson, of the New York State Agricultural College at Ithaca.

*The Farmer
and
His Problems*

The leaders in this movement understand perfectly well the facts relating to rotation of crops, improved live stock, better marketing, and the economic problem as a whole from the standpoint of the individual farmer. But they also see that, in a more important sense, the problem we have to deal with is that of farm and country life considered from the neighborhood standpoint. The creation of real schools, with influences thoroughly permeating entire districts, educating adults as well as children, is to-day a more fundamental need than showing the farmer the advantages of this or that improved method in farm production. We are fortunate in possessing a marvelously useful and intelligent agricultural press, whose editors are working with the Farm Bureau movement, the county agents, the State Agricultural colleges, and the National Department of Agriculture to promote better farming. All this makes for good, and is a vital part of the larger policy which we are advocating. This gospel of scientific agriculture has saved us, during a period of tremendous city growth, from what would have been otherwise a still greater stagnation of rural life. But with all the prosperity that the farmer gains from his intelligent efforts to improve his methods, he cannot possibly make money enough to support, unaided, the necessary institutions of community life which it is requisite to establish and develop, if we are to make the future of America what it ought to be in view of its past.

*Rebuilding
Local
Institutions*

It is the wealth and the power of each commonwealth as a whole, and of the nation as a whole, that should support the development of the life of the farm districts. Dwellers in cities and large towns will be better off in the long run if they accept the doctrine

that the best possible kind of education for citizenship and for actual life should be brought to the door of every child, whether living in the country or in the city. Country highways and city streets alike are public avenues of communication, and it is for the common welfare that they should be suited to their purposes. If libraries and churches as recreation centers are good for city folks, they are even more desirable for those in the country. We must rebuild rural districts, as we have reconstructed life in the cities.

*Existing
Contrasts*

Forty or fifty years ago there was a large element of our town and city population that lived wretchedly under slum conditions with bad sanitary arrangements, high death rates, poor food, much drunkenness, a high degree of illiteracy, and with children prevailing in rags and tatters. The change for the better, in spite of immigration and a tendency to overcrowding, has been amazing. Death rates in the cities have steadily decreased. Tenement houses are regulated, water supplies are pure, marvelously good schools are available. All children are required to attend school, and most children are decently attired, while they are far better fed than were the slum children of forty years ago. There is still plenty of work to be done for the social advancement of our city populations, and constant vigilance is requisite. But, whereas it was assumed fifty years ago that city slums were inevitable, and that drunkenness, vice and pauperism were permanent blights upon the life of large communities, it is now apparently the notion among many people that just such conditions are to be taken for granted in the remote rural districts. The truth is that the cities have been greatly transformed in these aspects, while country life in many regions has either not improved at all, or else has very sadly deteriorated. Thousands upon thousands of country hamlets and of rural neighborhoods show shocking conditions when examined from the standpoint of their social and economic well-being.

*How City
Slums Were
Abolished*

These particular neighborhoods have not now the power of self-redemption. Neither had the city slums the power to lift themselves out of the slime. The collective vigor of the municipality acting along the lines of a policy—a policy provided either by the State or by the city itself—paved the wretched streets,

kept them clean, provided sewers and garbage removal, sent the children to school, applied measures which virtually abolished epidemic diseases, waged war on vice and crime, regulated or closed the rum shops and disorderly establishments, took the sweatshop trades out of houses and rooms used for dwellings, regulated factories and work places, and tore down the worst of the insanitary rookeries in whose dark recesses disease had flourished—and behold, in the disappearance of all of the distinguishing marks of slum neighborhoods, the slums themselves were found to have been abolished. Let it be repeated, then, that the city slums did not abolish themselves, and that the country districts cannot reform themselves. There must be a policy which will bring the vigor and strength of the larger community to the rescue of the country neighborhoods, which in so many cases are incapable of self-restoration.

*Conditions in
the Eastern
States*

These remarks are applicable most conspicuously to conditions existing throughout the New England States, New York and Pennsylvania. They apply to portions of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. They have particular bearing upon the conditions of country life existing in the hilly or mountainous parts of the Eastern States, where there is a considerable amount of poverty, along with a decline in the efficiency of schools and other local institutions. Even in country neighborhoods where soils are richer—and where there is not so much poverty to be found as one inspects family conditions—there is too often a low tone of community life. The one-room school is not as good as it was fifty years ago, because the country-school teacher of the old type has disappeared. The only feasible way to bring back the old-time intelligence of the country regions is to abolish the small school district, create the new type of consolidated school, and organize it with trained teachers who realize that their mission is to the community in all its best local interests, and not merely to the children in the one matter of their text-book instruction. The States of New York and Pennsylvania are now trying to create these consolidated schools, following the example of such Middle Western States as Indiana. It is encouraging to note the zeal with which numerous Governors and State Superintendents of education are supporting the policy of reestablishing country life around a new kind of neighborhood institution.

*Pushing
Consolidated
Schools*

The movement will succeed in a large way only as the State governments themselves control and support the policy. Many localities by heavily taxing themselves have resources enough to create a good consolidated school and to run it efficiently. But there are thousands of neighborhoods which cannot afford to do all this for themselves, any more than the poor people living in a given tenement house block in New York City could provide themselves with the magnificent schools which their children are now attending under the compulsory school laws. At the Citizens Conference on Popular Education, held at Washington last year under the direction of Dr. Claxton, head of the Bureau of Education, the strongest note sounded was this need of a large policy for the educational improvement of the country districts. Governor Harding, of Iowa, made a stirring address on the consolidated school. He showed how slow the movement was in starting, yet how necessary it was, even in a State which has perhaps a better diffused agricultural prosperity than any other in the Union. During the past year or two, Iowa has been building and opening an average of one of these excellent consolidated schools for every day in the year.

*In the
Middle
West*

A State like Iowa, with relatively less development of large manufacturing industry in urban centers, has suffered less visible decline in the prosperity and in the social zest of rural life than is true of many other States. Yet the leaders of opinion and policy in these great agricultural States of the Middle West, like Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Kansas, are now aware that they must safeguard their prosperity and their general progress by looking out for the well-being of the country neighborhoods, upon the real success of which their States must rely for further generations of advancement in social and political well-being. Many of our readers will remember that Governor Harding, of Iowa, set forth these views, especially as respects rural education, in the issue of this magazine for August, 1920.

*City
Planning a
Success*

It is rather significant of the existing trends of thought and effort that there was held last month a conference on City Planning at Pittsburgh, and a conference on Rural Life at Richmond. City planning is old—both as

a theory and as a practice—in Europe; while it is new in the United States in both aspects. It was hard to make even intelligent people in the United States see that cities should not be left to haphazard development, but should be subjected to intelligent regulation for the best good of everybody concerned. The right of the individual in a large town is not paramount to the rights of his neighbors collectively considered. It is suitable that certain streets should be protected for residence purposes and that other streets should have a harmonious development for business purposes. It becomes necessary to regulate traffic and to make a distinction between main thoroughfares and lesser streets and roads. The public health requires thoroughgoing application of scientific principles to a variety of common services. It took thirty years of argument to get New York City to accept the principles of what is known as "zoning"; that is to say, the restriction of certain streets and neighborhoods for certain uses. Within a few years practically every city of importance in the United States, and many much smaller places, have created "planning" commissions, in order that the town may grow in a desirable and orderly way as respects its streets, the placing of public buildings, the protection of its natural features of beauty such as the shores of streams, the location of parks, and the creation of permanent monuments for dignity, adornment and culture.

*Experience In
Building Our
Cities*

The experience of our cities in their attempt to improve their physical appointments and their external aspects is rapidly having a cumulative value, so that the city-planning conferences from year to year become increasingly valuable and influential. The local Chambers of Commerce and citizens bodies are constantly more appreciative of the value of good public architecture, and of all that is intelligent and public-spirited in respect to the welfare of their own communities. This is to be commended, for it does not in the long run set up the town community as opposed to the progress of rural neighborhoods. On the contrary, it helps to develop in the towns certain leaders, women as well as men, who are capable of seeing that our modern problems of country and city are similar in many respects. It is these leaders, with their experience and training, who have done so much for the progress of their cities, who can be counted on to help establish the poli-

cies that will bring improvement and prosperity to their States as a whole.

*The Age
of
Coöperation*

The progress of our cities rests upon various practical uses of the principle of coöperation. The reconstruction of farm neighborhoods and of country life as a whole must in like manner call for various forms of associated activity, whether official and governmental, or unofficial and voluntary. The conference on Rural Life at Richmond had particular reference to the State of Virginia and was called by the Governor, Hon. Westmoreland Davis, who is himself even more prominent in Virginia as a farmer than in the professions of law and politics.

*People of the
Eastern
Mountains*

The Eastern mountain districts, extending southward from Pennsylvania and western Maryland, across and including parts of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, constitute (with adjacent uplands) a region in which several million people of old American stock are living under conditions more strictly rural than can be found anywhere else in the United States. These States, and others contiguous to them, have also great numbers of farm people not living strictly within the Appalachian upland areas, who are on farm lands—many of them in cotton-growing districts—removed from the life of towns and cities almost as completely as the dwellers in the hills and the mountain valleys. There are no people in the United States more deserving of consideration than the white farming folk of the older Southern States between the Atlantic and the Mississippi river. It is not help in the sense of patronage or charity that they need; but help in the sense of intelligent and wise policies based upon an appreciation of the great value of these people to the country as a potential asset. They are for the most part of old English, Scotch, and Irish stocks, of great



(This map shows the portions of States which constitute what are known as our Southern Highlands, inhabited by several million people of old American stock, living under the pioneer conditions of 100 years ago)

physical stamina, of fine mental parts, and of distinct moral worth. The story of those circumstances which have reduced them to their present state forms an interesting chapter in American history. Several historians have attempted to write that chapter with some success. The latest study, made for the Sage Foundation, appeared last month in the form of a noteworthy volume.

*Hardships
of Rural
America*

It is a good thing from every standpoint that the American people have learned to look to distant regions with a sense of human brotherhood; and what America has been doing in recent weeks for the relief of the famine districts of China—a work of relief that has already saved some millions of lives—will have proved a wise investment. What has been done in this country for the persecuted in Armenia, for children in Serbia, and for those suffering from war displacements whether in Poland or Austria or elsewhere, will have blessed those who give not less in the end than those who have received. But there ought to be no lack of clear intelligence as to the conditions existing among our own people. Unemployment in the industrial centers makes it necessary to study carefully the temporary needs of factory operatives and others who may be in need through unemployment. But these people are at least under the eye of various organizations; and they live for the most part within the reach

of many friendly hands. It is otherwise in the rural communities. Thus, in portions of the farming South to-day there are districts where the boll weevil destroyed most of the cotton crop, while the sudden turn of prices made the rest of the crop far too small in value to pay the store bills incurred during the period of its growth.

*Foreclosing
the
Mortgages*

Who is there in the North that knows anything of the terrible tragedies that have been common in hundreds of neighborhoods and scores of counties in the South during recent months? The whole world resounded a generation ago with the stories of dispossessed farmers on Irish estates, caused by arrearages following the severe drop in agricultural prices. But in the Southern States during recent months there have been thousands of foreclosure sales where tenant farmers have lost their chattels—their mule, their cow, and their scanty possessions—to meet the amount of their debts; while other thousands have had their lands and cabins sold under foreclosure of mortgage, and have gone out empty-handed from their poor but much-loved homes. It is all very well to say that these small farmers should have raised more corn and hogs and less cotton. But many of them cannot read and write; and, apart from that disadvantage, the conditions have been such that they could not well initiate agricultural reform in their neighborhoods. These are brave and proud people, and many of them are in a worse plight at this moment than could easily be found in the war-devastated districts of Europe. They are not articulate; it would not occur to them to appeal for help; and they will somehow get through the immediate crisis. This summer they will try to raise more corn than last year, relying less upon cotton and more upon home-grown food. In many regions they need temporary loans, and, particularly, protection from the land speculators and the sharks who foreclose mortgages and cause evictions. But fundamentally the remedy lies in the positive building up of the institutions of rural life. It is for this larger and more permanent reason that such conferences as the one held at Richmond last month are to be encouraged.

*Teaching
Agriculture*

There are, in the Southern States, an increasing number of agricultural schools intended to train the men who will lead the way to better farming. Unfortunately, too many of

the young men trained in these schools, having no capital with which to set themselves up as farmers, take to the towns and cities, where they can market the mechanical skill they have acquired by reason of industrial training schools which were intended to promote agricultural reform. It becomes obvious, on a little study of the problem, that to create agricultural schools without having created a way to utilize the services of the trained man in agriculture is to stop short of a successful policy. The graduate of the school should be employed as the leader of a neighborhood, placed on a model farm, and made the director of community education and progress. And he should "carry on" in his neighborhood, as the local representative of the county agent who supervises farm life and progress in general.

*The Best Type
of Country
School*

It would seem perhaps an invidious discrimination to select one school or another for especial praise; and, indeed, in the Appalachian regions there are a number of institutions which have demonstrated the value of these American mountaineers by showing how well they justify opportunities for higher education. But while it is true that the more fortunate of these young highlanders who are able to get into college make excellent lawyers, doctors, ministers, missionaries, school superintendents, and successful citizens, there is especial need of a school training for other and larger groups that shall particularly fit them to live well in their own farming neighborhoods. Notable for their grasp of this need and for their achievement of fine results are the Berry Schools in northwestern Georgia. By sympathy and devotion, Miss Martha Berry has created, first, a school for country boys, and later a school for country girls, which succeed so well in training young people for the business of living usefully and working intelligently in their own spheres of existence that they may fairly be said to be without superiors anywhere in any country.

*Farm Popu-
lation as
Best Asset*

The larger policy of the State of Georgia, to name a single commonwealth, should aim to utilize the trained services of young men and women who come out of such institutions, in order that their leadership may transform communities and in due time quadruple the value of Georgia's intensified and diversified agriculture. Above all, such efforts are de-

veloping the State's greatest asset; namely, its rural population. In a State like Georgia, policies having reference to the permanent improvement of the State's vast domain can be the more strongly supported under the existing conditions of depression. When the price of cotton is extremely high and the speculative spirit of the city traders also spreads across the countryside, it is not so easy to make men consider the facts that underlie permanent prosperity. But when the reaction follows, and the speculative mania gives way to sober realities, there comes a time when men learn to relish the wholesome truth. Such an awakening has occurred.

*Georgia
Aroused*

It is at this very time, with a number of States suffering tremendous losses due to the drop in the value of their cotton crops and other products, that Georgia as a typical State is showing an unwonted intelligence in facing the problems of her material progress. On the edge of Atlanta is located the Georgia Institute of Technology. It has double the students this year that it had previously accommodated, and it expects within a few years to have as many thousands as recently it had hundreds. Last month the people of Georgia were, with marked enthusiasm, raising by voluntary subscription a fund of several million dollars to put this State institution upon a basis that should make it in due time comparable with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The most important phase of this project lay in its avowed reference to the business of developing the human and material resources of the State of Georgia. Besides her soils, Georgia has a varied wealth of ores and minerals, and it is definitely determined to train hundreds of technical men and engineers and set them at the work of achieving higher industrial development for the State. The millions required for this technical school will prove a most lucrative investment.

*City and
State,
Together*

Atlanta, while growing in a hundred aspects that make for wealth, beauty, comfort and social well-being, is, like Nashville, destined to become a noteworthy educational center with its cluster of growing institutions. But the thing that will in the end react most favorably upon the progress of Atlanta will be the adoption of a bold and generous policy looking to the highest advancement of agriculture and the education for home and neigh-



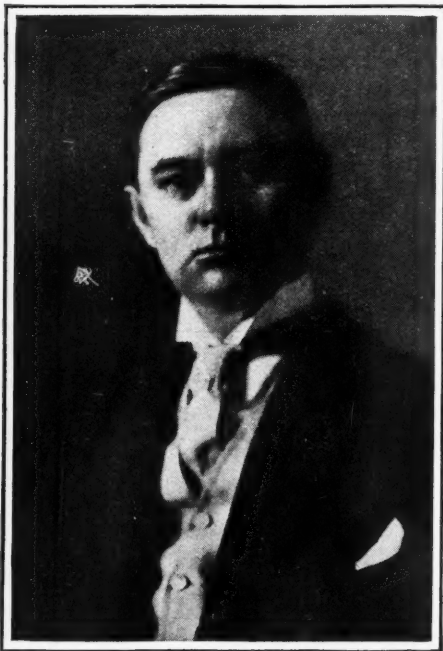
HON. HUGH M. DORSEY, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

(Mr. Dorsey, who is about to retire, has shown great courage and frankness in dealing with those farm labor conditions popularly called "peonage," which indicate the need of thorough reconstruction of rural regions in the South)

borhood life, as well as for farming, of all the people in Georgia's numerous rural counties. Georgia is about to install a new Governor, and various policies looking to improved government in the State are under discussion. The retiring Governor, Mr. Dorsey, has dealt courageously with certain conditions in the State that have in a special way pointed to the need of those rural reforms which we are here urging. If the general tone of life in the more remote and obscure country districts had been high, it would have been quite impossible for such labor conditions to exist as those to which the word peonage is now commonly applied.

*"Peonage"
a Mere
Symptom*

Where cotton lands are worked on shares by negro families, each occupying a cabin with a certain acreage, with no money available until the crop is sold, there is a tendency to reduce the negro workers to a state of quasi-bondage through their perpetual indebtedness to the landowner who has advanced them supplies. It happens that in a particularly atrocious instance several murders were committed in the vain hope of preventing the exposure of a lesser crime by removing the victims before



© Harris & Ewing

HON. THOMAS W. HARDWICK, OF GEORGIA

(Mr. Hardwick, the Governor-elect, will under the Georgia laws take his position as head of the State on June 28. He has already outlined policies looking toward improved economy and efficiency in State government.)

they could be used as witnesses. Georgia desires to reform the conditions under which this so-called peonage is possible. There are immediate safeguards, doubtless, that can be applied. More important, however, is the slower, fundamental remedy which must take the form of a real reconstruction of education and agricultural life in every county. With a proper plan for bringing about such improvements, the results would justify whatever investment might be required. "Peonage" is merely symptomatic of greater evils to be remedied. Justice for negroes will be best assured by justice for everybody.

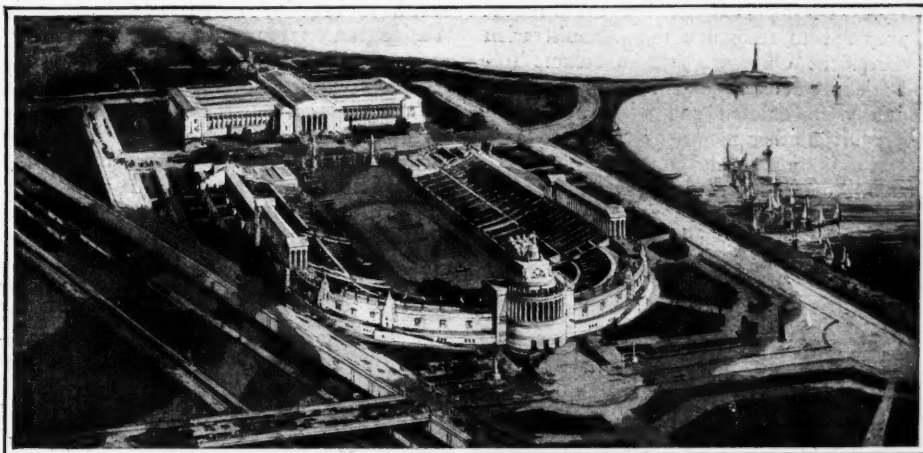
*Progress of
the Weaker
Race*

Where there is sound and prosperous agriculture, with the roads and schools and other facilities that belong to a modern farm region, there is no danger of anything like peonage. Where country life is prosperous and its tone is high, the farm worker is not in peril of being made a peon, whether his skin be of one complexion or of another. That there is progress on the whole among the colored people of the South is too evident for denial. There is marked improvement in the schools

for negroes, the great need being—for negroes as well as for whites—a well-trained body of teachers and a suitable kind of school organization with adequate financial support. Many institutions in the South are now training negro teachers, and some of these institutions are models which are studied by educational people from various countries who are interested in school training based upon agriculture and industry. The famous Institute at Hampton, Virginia, pursues its way as a leader in this field; and Tuskegee, as built up by the genius of Booker Washington, maintains its success and prestige under the headship of Major Robert R. Moton, a negro of the finest type of physical and mental development, who had been trained at Hampton and had remained there as a member of the staff for a quarter of a century. Mr. Moton has just now published a biographical volume entitled "Finding a Way Out." In this admirable book Mr. Moton tells the story of his own life, and at the same time gives us a trustworthy survey of the forward movement of his own race. It is a story of steadily improving relations between the white and black peoples of the South and a recognition of the increasing activity of white Southern leaders in helping to provide schools and otherwise to encourage negro progress.

*Metropolitan
Splendors*

The magnificence of our American cities, as they grow into something like maturity of appointments and services, impresses every competent visitor, who comes here from other countries. Merely to note the most striking of recent instances of municipal achievement would form a long catalogue. The Pacific Coast cities, for example, are making great strides. The same thing is true of the principal towns of the Mississippi Valley. Chicago's determination to realize its best possibilities have long commanded admiration. Just now the Chicagoans are giving especial attention to the larger features of their program. In the first half of August they will hold an exposition which they call their "Pageant of Progress"; and it is intended to make this an annual affair. A noteworthy local event has been the recent completion and dedication of the great Field Columbian Museum on the Lake Front—a monument to the public spirit of the late Marshall Field. Under the working out of the "Chicago Plan," a great area of new land, made by filling in the Lake Michigan shore-



THE NEW FIELD MUSEUM AT CHICAGO AND THE PROPOSED STADIUM IN FRONT OF IT ON THE LAKE SHORE.

(Chicago is steadily moving along the line of great plans of physical and civic progress, and the completion of the Field Museum calls attention to a great program, part of which is suggested by the picture above—reproduced by courtesy of Marshall Field & Co., from an admirably illustrated book on Chicago issued by them last month)

front, is to be devoted to public buildings and parks, the Field Museum being a feature of this great system of lake-front development. Among many things that might be noted to show the steady march of improvement in metropolitan New York the most important is the completion of the "treaty" signed last month between the States of New Jersey and New York for the unified development of the harbor. Under the fearless and brilliant leadership of Governor Miller, there is some prospect of a financial readjustment of the affairs of the New York transit system. A municipal election occurs in the present year, and the old fight between Tammany and Anti-Tammany will be renewed. But, regardless of municipal politics, the forces that make for the advance of the metropolis seem to be irresistible.

*An Apology
in
Cash Form*

In the list of history-making events pertaining to our relations with Latin-America, the most important among recent occurrences undoubtedly has been the ratification by the United States Senate of the long-pending treaty with the Republic of Colombia, relating to the Panama Canal. Under this treaty the United States pays Colombia \$25,000,000, and grants certain rights in the Canal. The treaty was negotiated seven years ago, in President Wilson's first administration; and the Democrats were so committed to it then for party reasons that they could not now consistently change their attitude. The

Republicans had long opposed the treaty, for excellent reasons which this periodical has heretofore explained. The new Administration, and the Republican majority in the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, having seen a new light, the treaty was ratified on April 20 by a vote of 69 to 19. There was no attempt to conceal the motives which had brought about this change. It was openly stated that American interests desired to obtain petroleum concessions in Colombia, and that the Government of that Republic was making these concessions depend upon the ratification of the treaty. Along with this practical business motive there was of course the idea that it would help in general to improve relationships between the United States and Latin-America if Colombia's "grievance" were met in this particular way. If, indeed, Colombia had any just grievance, it is hard to see how the payment of \$25,000,000 can be expected to heal the wound. This action would seem to be the culmination of a series of bungling diplomatic performances covering a long period of years.

*Clearing
the Way for
Mexico*

It was freely said at Washington that one reason for the suddenness with which this long-suspended treaty was resurrected and ratified was due to the desire to clear the decks, so far as possible, of all other Latin-American snarls and entanglements, in order to concentrate on the graver issues of our Mexican

policy. It is reported that our Government is prepared to recognize the administration of President Obregon, and to resume full and friendly relations, upon terms now substantially formulated and virtually agreed upon; but another month or two will bring the confirmation or denial of these reports. The bill of claims against Mexico for the lives and the property of foreigners will total an immense sum, which Mexico hopes to meet by taxing the foreign companies that are exploiting Mexican oil and other resources.

*Panama's
Boundaries,
Our Affair*

Meanwhile, a small but annoying question has arisen between the United States and the little Republic of Panama, our fostering of which young State had created all the trouble with Colombia that we have now decided to clear up by paying a sum of money. The Republics of Panama and Costa Rica have had a long controversy over a part of the boundary line between them. The matters at issue were finally referred to Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court for arbitration. His decision was rather favorable to Costa Rica, and was repudiated by Panama. There has been incipient war for possession. The Government of Panama is making elaborate arguments to prove that the Government of the United States has failed to understand the exact point at issue. Early in May, Secretary Hughes met the earnest argument of Panama's Secretary of Foreign Affairs by sending an elaborate note upholding the award of Chief Justice White, and plainly informing Panama that the United States will enforce the award if Panama continues to resist it. An attempt was made to settle this boundary question by the arbitration of President Loubet of the French Republic in the year 1900; but, as respects a portion of the boundary, there had never been final agreement. The Panama Government is undoubtedly sincere in its contentions, but it will have to yield to the argument that the United States, as protector and guarantor of Panama, must assume ultimate responsibility for deciding what are the true lines separating Panama from its neighbors.

*Marines in
Hayti and
San Domingo*

There has been much controversy over the work of the United States Marines under direction of the Navy Department in their endeavor to end governmental chaos, and insure order and justice, in the badly demoralized republics of San Domingo and Hayti. Last

month a Haytian committee appeared in Washington reiterating grave complaints against our Marines. Secretary Denby, who had recently visited San Domingo and Hayti, declares vigorously that the charges are scandalously misleading, and that the Navy Department has made a most excellent showing in its efforts to protect civil rights and establish order in an island which has suffered so much from banditry under the guise of political revolution. The truth would seem to be that we have made some minor mistakes in our military occupation of Hayti and San Domingo, but that the results considered as a whole have been most salutary and altogether creditable to the United States. Secretary Denby thus comes around to the support of ex-Secretary Daniels and ex-Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt, although in the recent Presidential campaign the Republicans had been rather sharply critical. It would be very unfortunate for all legitimate interests if the hand of American justice were to be completely removed, and it is to be hoped that some way may be found for permanent direction of affairs in the Island of San Domingo by the United States.



© Harris & Ewing

HON. E. MONTGOMERY REILLY, GOVERNOR-DESIGNATE OF PORTO RICO

(Mr. Reilly, of Kansas City, is a personal friend of President Harding and will represent the Administration's policies and views in our beautiful island territory)

*Porto Rico
and the
President*

Reference was made in these pages last month to affairs in Porto Rico. President Harding gave an address in New York on April 19, the occasion being the dedication of an equestrian statue of General Bolivar, on the Monroe Doctrine and our relations to the Latin-American peoples. It was an admirable presentation, and has been excellently received in South America. Incidentally, Mr. Harding made the following allusion to our own portion of the New World that is of Spanish origin:

We do not forget that in the United States today we have Latin-American devotion to the Stars and Stripes. Porto Rico is a part of us, under a permanent policy aimed at her prosperity and progress, and we see in our Latin-American State the splendid agency to help interpret the Americas to one another.

There can be no doubt that the point of view of the United States is deliberately expressed in the President's statement that "Porto Rico is a part of us under a permanent policy aimed at her prosperity and progress." This phrase well sums up the positions taken in the article last month by the Editor of this REVIEW. The appointment of a new Governor of Porto Rico was announced on May 10 in the person of Mr. E. Montgomery Reily, of Kansas City, who will doubtless be wholly in harmony with the purposes of the President, and with the plans of the Bureau of Insular Affairs under the direction of Secretary Weeks. We shall refer at another time to the long and distinguished service of Governor Yager.

*Preparing for
Insular
Representation*

It is of further interest in connection with Porto Rico to note the fact that the Hon. Horace M. Towner, Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, has introduced a constitutional amendment looking to the possible admission, at some future time, of Porto Rico and other outlying territories as States in the Union. The proposed amendment is as follows:

The Congress of the United States shall have power to fix and determine the representation in the Congress of the United States of overseas and noncontiguous territory now held or hereafter acquired as territory, possession, or dependency of the United States upon its admission and thereafter as a State of the United States. In no case shall the number of Senators so fixed and determined exceed two for any such State; and in no case shall the proportionate number of Representatives so fixed and determined for any



© Harris & Ewing

HON. HORACE M. TOWNER, OF IOWA

(Mr. Towner, who is one of the foremost authorities of the Republican House at Washington, is chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs and is recognized in Porto Rico as well as in the United States as an intelligent friend of the island people and a leader in our territorial policies)

such State exceed the number apportioned on the basis of population to other States of the United States not overseas or noncontiguous.

Judge Towner, in proposing this addition to the Constitution of the United States, has in mind the fact that Porto Rico may at some time properly ask, not only for self-government as a State, but also for an appropriate place in the Government of the nation as a whole. If this amendment were adopted, Congress could readily arrange to give Porto Rico a single Senator if its population and wealth did not entitle it to two.

*Equality
in the
Senate*

Judge Towner has also in mind the fact that, if Porto Rico and Alaska were accorded a voting representation, there would come a demand from Hawaii, and in due time from the Philippines, if that archipelago is to remain permanently under the American flag. The reasons for giving the smaller States of the original thirteen their equal representation in the Senate are familiar to those who have

studied our political history. It might have been well, however, if the Constitution had provided that in admitting any State in addition to the original thirteen there should be only one Senator until the new State had reached a certain average of population and wealth. It is too late now to reduce Senate representation in case of any of the forty-eight existing members of the Union; but there is much reason for considering favorably the proposal of Judge Towner to leave this matter to Congress in the case of the admission of future States.

*Secretary
Mellon's Plan
for Taxes*

On May 1 was published the program for revenue revision recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon. These recommendations were clear-headed and comprehensive. They followed closely on lines already indicated in the announced policies of the Harding administration. Secretary Mellon calls attention to the disturbing fact that three-fourths of the present fiscal year show our current national expenditures to be at the rate of five billion dollars. "The nation cannot continue to spend at this shocking rate. As the President said in his message, the burden is unbearable, and there are two avenues of relief. One is rigid resistance in appropriation, and the other is the utmost economy in administration."

*Planning
for 1921 and
1922*

The larger items of the expenditures which the Secretary calls shocking are made up as follows: \$850,000,000 for the War Department, \$500,000,000 for the Navy Department, about \$600,000,000 in payments to the railroads, and \$650,000,000 in interest on public debts. Secretary Mellon believes that even with all that can be hoped for from economy in appropriation and administration the net expenditure of the nation cannot be cut below four billion dollars a year until 1923. In the meantime he favors a funding of the floating debt, amounting now to some two and one-half billion dollars, and such refunding of the maturing Victory notes as will carry them until 1928. He calls attention to the great uncertainty as to internal revenue receipts in the immediate future, owing to the influence of acute trade depression. Unexpectedly heavy expenses during the past year—especially for army, navy, and railroads—had entirely upset the Treasury's plans for the retirement of the floating debt. Secretary Mellon reads the figures to

mean that we cannot hope for any program of funding the floating debt that will reduce the burden of taxes during the next two years. Drastic cuts in current expenditures are the only resources to obtain relief from the present tax burden.

*Important
Items of
Revision*

The Secretary recommends strongly two important changes from our present revenue law. As was suggested in President Harding's message, the repeal of the excess-profits tax is urged; the second item is a radical scaling down of the higher surtaxes on individual incomes. As to the excess-profits tax, Secretary Mellon points out that apart from the cumbersome and inequitable features of the measure it is rapidly losing its efficacy as a revenue-raiser. In 1918 the tax produced \$2,500,000,000; in 1919, \$1,320,000,000; in 1920, \$750,000,000; and in the current year it is beyond doubt that there will be a still further large drop in its results. Thus it has come to be a tax which nearly everyone hates and which does not produce revenue. As regards the higher surtaxes on individual incomes, Secretary Mellon explains that the recommendation for lower rates is not prompted in the least by a desire to free from heavy taxes the individuals having these great incomes. It is the fact that legal evasion of higher surtaxes, chiefly through investment in tax-free securities of States and municipalities, is largely rendering this portion of the law a dead letter. Under our present revenue law, the surtaxes on incomes of over \$100,000 increase rapidly until in the case of incomes of one million dollars and over the recipient must pay a surtax of 65 per cent.—making, with the normal tax of 8 per cent., a total of 73 per cent.

*What the
Traffic Will
Bear*

Such a huge deduction from the interest or dividends on any investment is certain to be evaded, as explained above, in the buying of tax-free securities. Secretary Mellon sets out to find the largest rate of surtax that will be bearable, and his specific recommendation is that for the year 1921 individuals receiving an income of \$70,000 per year pay a combined normal and surtax of 40 per cent. (which is exactly what they pay now), and that there should be no increase in this rate for the incomes higher than \$70,000. For the year 1922, the combined surtax and normal tax on higher incomes would be made 33 per cent. The Treasury estimates that receipts

from surtaxes under the existing law would be about \$500,000,000 in 1921. Of this, only \$100,000,000 is expected from those surtax rates above 32 per cent. Thus the proposed change would result in small immediate loss and an ultimate considerable increase in total revenue.

*Substitutes
for Excess-
Profits Tax*

The most worrisome feature of the proposed tax reduction is the question of finding a way to raise the sums which have hitherto been produced by the excess-profits tax. With not more than a casual reference to the much-mooted project for a sales or "turnover" tax, the Secretary recommends that the loss of revenue from the repeal of the excess-profits tax be made up chiefly by "a modified tax on corporation profits or a flat additional income tax upon corporations and the repeal of the existing \$2000 exemption." It is estimated that this might yield between \$400,000,000 and \$500,000,000 revenue with a flat rate of 5 per cent. It is to be noted that Secretary Mellon makes no mention of the suggestion which has been made by more than one prominent member of Congress—that a portion of the void left by the repeal of the excess-profits tax should be filled by a tax on the undivided profits of corporations. It is reassuring to have this evidence that the matter is fading away from the Administration's plans of revenue revision. The effect of placing a substantial tax on undivided profits would certainly be to force large distributions to stockholders and would be unfortunate in the extreme. There is no single cause for failures in large business operations appearing more frequently than the paying out to stockholders of profits which should have been laid by to meet the days of stress that must come to every business enterprise. One certain distinction in business management that marks off very ably conducted enterprises like the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and the like, from projects with checkered careers, is a consistent policy of keeping aside a substantial percentage of current profits to finance needed extensions and meet the strains of panic or industrial depression. Any tax levied specially on that portion of a corporation's profits not paid out to stockholders would amount to a severe penalty on conservative business management, and would tend to force the managers of business enterprises into unsafe ways.

*Opposition
to a Sales
Tax*

On May 10, Congress began public hearings on proposals for tax revision, and the first item taken up was the widely-discussed tax on sales. Much heat has been produced in the friction between the advocates of this tax and its opponents. The latter, led by Mr. Frear of Wisconsin, have vehemently charged in Congressional debate that the representatives of wealth in America, or some of them, are maintaining an expensive lobby, and carrying on vigorous propaganda in the effort to transfer tax burdens from their own shoulders to those of the mass of people. As explained above, the Secretary of the Treasury had but little to say on this question, Mr. Mellon's comments being limited to a statement that "the Treasury is not prepared to recommend at this time any general sales tax." Opposition to the idea from many quarters, including some not influenced by political consideration, is so intense that any affirmative action seems doubtful. Many Congressmen are inclined to couple the plan for the tax on sales with a program for a general payment of bonuses to soldiers. Naturally, if it were made plain to the public that such a tax on its expenditures for the necessities of life were for the specific purpose of furnishing bonuses to soldiers, the matter would be more possible, politically speaking.

*The Emer-
gency Tariff
Bill*

On May 11, the Senate passed the Emergency Tariff bill and conferees were appointed to reconcile the Senate measure with that of the House. The bill is not, of course, a revenue-raising measure designed to help out Secretary Mellon's balance-sheet. It is primarily constructed to protect agricultural products from foreign competition, and it is a tariff wall rather than a revenue-producer. There are stringent clauses in the bill aiming to prevent the "dumping" of foreign products on American markets at prices lower than those obtaining abroad, and there is a determined effort to take care of our big new dye industry by continuing war-time control over the manufacture of American dyestuffs. Tariff duties are to be based on the foreign value or the export value at the port of entry, whichever figure is higher.

*Farm Products
at Pre-War
Prices*

The life of this Emergency Tariff bill is to be six months or until the permanent tariff measure comes into force. The import rates prescribed for farm products are very high: 35

cents a bushel for wheat, 15 cents to 45 cents a pound for wool, 7 cents a pound for cotton, 25 cents a bushel for potatoes, 40 cents a bushel for onions are fair examples of the rates. It is true that agricultural products have fallen in price much faster and further than steel, oil, coal, wages, and other basic elements. It is also true that to get any adequate readjustment in industry that will allow business to go ahead in normal volume there must be either a scaling-down of the prices of these commodities that have hitherto lagged in readjustment, or else a scaling-up of the prices of agricultural products to meet them. This is necessary not only from the standpoint of the farmers' own interests, but to enable industry at large to resume. Mr. George E. Roberts, of the National City Bank of New York, calls attention to the cotton farmer shipping his product away on "a railroad whose charges are more than 50 per cent. higher than before the war, whose employees are getting more than 100 per cent. higher wages, to a mill whose employees are getting 100 per cent. higher wages than before the war; the coal consumed in transportation and in the manufacture of cloth cost twice as much before the war because wages and other mining expenses are twice as high; the cloth was made into clothing by labor receiving twice as much as before the war; and finally, with various other expenses and profits added, the cotton garment comes back over the railroad and is offered for sale to the cotton grower." Is it any wonder, Mr. Roberts asks, that the market for cotton goods has fallen off?

*Will it Raise
the Price of
Wheat?*

Thus the interests of the whole community would undoubtedly be served by the realignment of prices and wages to some one level; but even if the right process is to raise the prices of farm products toward the higher levels obtaining for other commodities, will this tariff wall actually produce the result? Our 1921 winter-wheat crop of 630,000,000 bushels is about sufficient to supply all our demands if no spring-wheat crop at all were grown. Our surplus, practically represented by this spring-wheat crop, will be sold abroad; the large wheat surplus of the Argentine and of Canada will be kept out of the United States by the 35 per cent. duty in the new tariff bill, and will be offered to the world, with our own export surplus, at a time when buying power is very low. If, under these conditions, the Liverpool price

of a bushel of wheat is appreciably raised by keeping the Canadian and Argentine grain out of the United States it will be a matter of surprise to many competent observers.

*Competition
Hurting the
Railroads*

Another factor tending to keep down the world price of wheat at present is the low cost of ocean transportation. With half the great United States merchant marine fleet idle at the docks, owing to the small volume of ocean traffic, and with the fiercest sort of competition between the fleets of a dozen nations for the small amount of business at hand, ocean freight rates have come down from the soaring war heights to pre-war levels or below. Argentine wheat can be carried across the Atlantic cheaper than our own wheat can be brought from farms west of the Mississippi to the Atlantic seaboard. Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt, chairman of the Southern Pacific Railroad's board, and one of the ablest railroad executives this country has ever known, made striking use of this competition of water transportation with the railroads in his recent testimony before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate. In accordance with Senator Cummins' resolution for a general inquiry into the affairs of the railroads, and especially the reasons for their high operating expenses, the Senate committee was endeavoring to ascertain why, with the gross revenues in 1920 at such high levels, the railroads found it impossible to save any adequate margin over bare operating costs. An appreciable portion of the troubles of the railroads Mr. Kruttschnitt assigned to the competition of the Government operation of steamships at a great loss covered by the taxpayers, and also to the competition of ships using the Panama Canal without paying tolls sufficient to furnish interest on the cost and operating expenses of the canal. He protested even more strongly against the inroads on railroad traffic made by the competition of automobile trucks which are run on highways built with public money without adequate tolls or regulations. It is estimated that the Southern Pacific lost last year \$4,000,000 revenue from this cause.

*The Rail-
road Wage
Question*

The testimony before the Senate Committee showed, however, that other items in the cost of operation of the railroads were dwarfed by the factor of labor. Sixty-four cents out of every dollar of operating expenses in 1920 was paid to labor, the wages being fixed by

the Government. In 1916, before the Adamson law was passed, the annual labor bill of the railroads was \$1,468,000,000. During the last six months of 1920 the roads were paying wages at the rate of \$3,980,000,000 a year. The Railway Labor Board is now considering the application of the roads for a reduction of wages, and but little improvement is hoped for in the affairs of the transportation lines until some readjustment is made. A certain amount of relief was given the roads by the decision of the Board on April 14 annulling the "national agreements" and allowing each road to deal with its own employees in disputes as to rules and working conditions. The decision excepted the employees represented by the four big "brotherhoods."

*Ought Freight
Rates to Be
Reduced?*

Most railway executives are strongly opposing any reduction in railway freight rates now, and the figures of operating costs and receipts support their contention that the thing is impossible without more drastic cuts in wages than can be hoped for. The contrary view, apparently very generally held in Congress, is that the volume of traffic, which has fallen off with unprecedented rapidity by about 30 per cent., would be increased by the stimulus of lower rates. Some of the ablest railway operators, such as Mr. Kruttschnitt, counter with the claim that in many of the important lines of traffic the volume would not be increased appreciably if rates were abolished altogether and freight were carried absolutely free. With commodities like cotton, where a great surplus has been carried over, and with the mills utterly unable to keep producing,

because of slack consumption, it is undoubtedly true that the present rate of freight charges has nothing whatever to do with the movement of the staple. The last heavy increase in railway rates happened to coincide with the quite marked slowing-up of traffic; therefore many observers conclude that the increase caused the decrease in traffic. That this may be an utterly wrong conclusion is shown in the current facts of ocean trade, where freight rates have fallen beyond any precedent to pre-war levels or below, and yet the volume of business moved has fallen along with the rates and is still decreasing.

*The Outlook
for General
Business*

It will be remembered that at the beginning of this year, when the let-up in business activity became fully apparent—with threats of panic that were, happily, never fulfilled—the forecasts of many able economists and captains of industry set the date for a revival in business near the end of this spring or the beginning of summer. Just how the current facts support that prophecy is shown in Dr. David Friday's article in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. His statement gives ground for confidence and moderate optimism. One striking feature of the current financial situation is the recent rapid return of gold to the United States. After the high record of gold holdings was reached in July, 1919, when we had more than three billion dollars of the precious metal—an amount that dwarfed any previous accumulation by any country—an outward movement began which lessened our store by about \$400,000,000. In recent months this movement has been abruptly reversed and streams of gold from no less than twenty-six countries have been coming to the United States with a rapidity never seen before except in the months just prior to our entry into the war. There is some mystery as to the source of this extraordinary movement, because most of the countries have now embargoes on gold exports which prevent their precious metal from being drawn off to America by the unique position of the United States in the matter of exchange rates. One explanation of the mystery is that a portion of our gold imports comes from Russia through roundabout channels opened up by the trading of Scandinavian countries with Russia and the settlement of their trade balances with the United States in gold. Even with our rapidly decreasing favorable trade balance there is little prospect of any early loss of this gold.



CHEER UP, THE CLOUDS ARE ROLLING BY
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

*The German
Reparations
Bonds*

The settlement to which Germany agreed on May 11 provides for \$33,000,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds in three issues with the entire assets of the German Empire and of the separate states behind them. Mr. Simonds gives a very clear and full account, in his article in this issue of the REVIEW, of the amount and manner of these reparations payments to the Allied nations. It is to be noted that the translation of the German mark into dollars is here done at the rate of 25 cents for the mark, whereas the exact rate is 23.8 cents. Of this total, the first series, for the amount of \$3,000,000,000, is to be created and delivered to the Allies by July 1, 1921; and the second series, for \$9,500,000,000, is to be issued on November 1, 1921. The third series, for \$20,500,000,000, is scheduled for November 1 of this year also, but an all-important condition of the third and largest issue provides that it does not begin to pay interest until the stipulated yearly cash payment from Germany, \$500,000,000, and 26 per cent. of her exports, will, in the judgment of the Reparations Commission, cover not only the interest on the first two series together with their sinking fund of 1 per cent., but also leave enough over to take care of interest and sinking fund for the third issue. Thus the third and largest block of bonds is managed as a sort of safety valve that will open and relieve Germany of pressure until her business prosperity, as measured by her export trade, is sufficient to enable her to make interest and sinking fund payments on the whole.

*What are
the Bonds
Worth?*

The Allies have now before them the problem of turning these forthcoming German bonds into some form that will help to pay their own terrific war debts. That a bond of van-

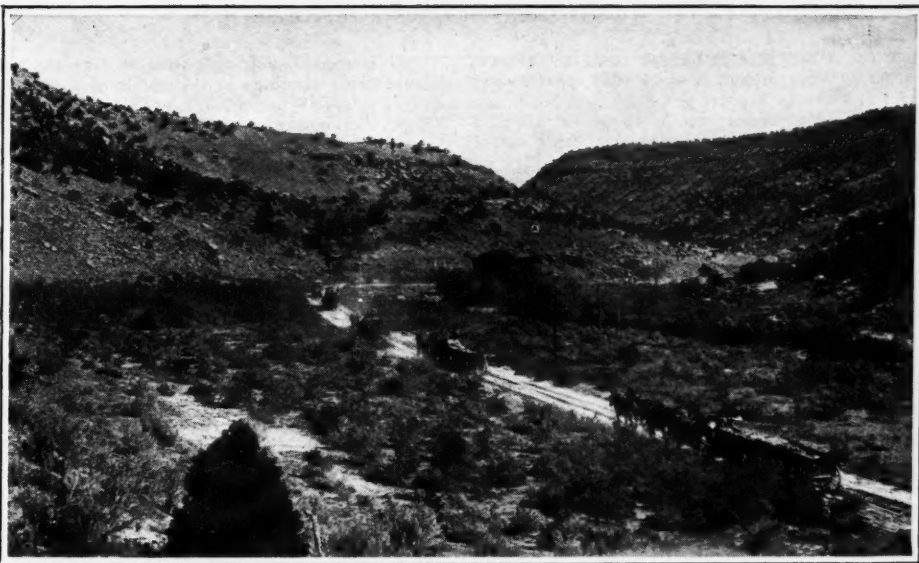
quished Germany, bearing 5 per cent. interest, is worth nowhere near its par value is strikingly shown by the recent flotations and the current prices of bonds of other European countries. The twenty-year bonds of the Swiss Government, for instance, were sold to the public on an 8 per cent. basis—which means, of course, that when the expenses of flotation are considered, Switzerland had to pay appreciably more than this rate for the funds acquired. It must be remembered, too, that Switzerland was a neutral country, unravaged by war, with high credit and an enviable record for peaceful thrift and orderliness. The last issue of bonds of the French Government have been persistently selling below par, although they bear interest at 8 per cent. The 8 per cent. issues of the Kingdom of Belgium and of the Kingdom of Denmark are quoted on the American exchanges at or below par. It will be interesting to see whether the popular feeling against Germany, which must persist for years to come in the Allied countries, will operate strongly against individual demand for these reparations bonds and add another factor increasing the discount at which they must be sold. But even if this popular sentiment toward things German does not work to the prejudice of the new billions of securities, the bonds will scarcely be salable, in the opinion of investment bankers, at a price much higher than 70.

*An American
Market
Hoped For*

France will receive the largest single block of the reparations bonds, and she will undoubtedly attempt to aid their marketability by either adding her endorsement or by floating new bonds of her own having the German issues (and perhaps other values in addition) as collateral security. It is thought that some plan may be put forward to pay the principals of the present Allied debts to America with such German bonds, or a portion of those debts. In any case, it is fairly certain that attempts will be made to sell these German bonds to the American public, when they have been strengthened by adding the security of the seller nation's credit. Our bankers have expressed themselves as confident that American investors can at present be persuaded to buy one hundred to two hundred million of the German securities if the credit of France or Great Britain, or of both, is added, and if the price is brought into line with existing issues of Government securities comparable to these in safety.



AUTOCRACY'S MONUMENT
[The German Republic is left to pay the bill]
From the News (Chicago, Ill.)



WHERE A LARGE PART OF THE WORLD'S SUPPLY OF RADIUM ORIGINATES—THE CARNOTITE MINES OF PARADOX VALLEY, COLORADO

(The ore from the mines is carried by six-horse wagon trains sixty miles to the nearest railroad, at Placerville, Colo., to be shipped from there to Pittsburgh Pa., and Orange, N. J., where it is reduced to a radium product in its commercial form. Five hundred tons of ore yield about a teaspoonful of radium. See page 606)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 14 to May 15)

THE GERMAN REPARATION SETTLEMENT

April 15.—The French Government decides to occupy the entire Ruhr region of Germany unless she makes a substantial reparation payment by May 10.

April 20.—Germany requests the United States to act as mediator between her and the Allies in the reparation controversy.

April 21.—Secretary Hughes, replying to the German note, refuses to place the United States in the position of umpire, but urges immediate formulation of new German proposals.

April 22.—London publishes a new German note offering to cooperate fully in restoring devastated regions.

April 24.—Berlin hands a reparation note to the American Commissioner, offering 50,000,000,000 gold marks, present value, an international loan for use in Allied debt payments, and cooperation in rebuilding devastated area.

April 25.—The Reparation Commission sends a note to Berlin demanding deposit of 1,000,000,000 marks gold in the Bank of France before May 1.

April 26.—Washington tells Berlin its indemnity proposals cannot be forwarded to the Allies unless a final sum is definitely fixed; France ridicules the German proposal.

April 27.—London requests Berlin to explain ambiguities in the reparation note. . . . The Reparation Commission officially informs Ger-

many that she owes 132,000,000,000 gold marks as indemnity for war damage.

April 28.—At Paris, M. Briand, departing for London, tells newspapermen France will occupy the Ruhr region to help the German people to get rid of reactionaries.

April 29.—In the United States Senate, the Knox peace resolution is passed, 49 to 23.

April 30.—The Reparation Commission demands that Germany deliver stocks, bonds, and titles of interest to concessions in Russia, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey under Article 260 of the Versailles treaty.

May 2.—Secretary Hughes rejects the German reparation offers in a memorandum advising Germany to apply directly to the Allies with definite proposals.

France concentrates nine divisions of troops under General Degoutte for a prospective Ruhr advance.

May 3.—The United States is invited in a note from Lloyd George to be represented in Allied conferences.

The Reparation Commission notifies Germany of default in the payment of 12,000,000,000 gold marks on May 1 under Article 235 of the Versailles treaty.

May 4.—The German Cabinet under Chancellor Fehrenbach resigns.

May 5.—Premier Lloyd George explains to the House of Commons the German reparation situa-

tion, the Allied plan at London being as follows: 100,000,000 per annum is to be paid, plus 26 per cent. of German exports per year; and bonds are to be issued in Series; as, A, 12,000,000,000 gold marks, July 1, with interest at 5 per cent. and 1 per cent. sinking fund; B, 38,000,000,000 gold marks, September 1; C, 82,000,000,000 gold marks November 1.

The Supreme Council at London delivers to Dr. Sthamer, Berlin envoy, an ultimatum requiring German trial of war culprits, disarmament, and reparation payments of 132,000,000,000 gold marks before May 12 on penalty of seizure of the entire Ruhr industrial region.

May 6.—Washington accepts the Allied invitation and designates Ambassador George Harvey to attend sessions of the Supreme Council, Ambassador Wallace to meet with the Council of Ambassadors, and Roland W. Boyden to sit on the Reparation Commission.

May 10.—The German Reichstag votes 221 to 175 to yield to Allied demands for immediate disarmament, war trials, and acceptance of reparation terms.

A new German Cabinet is formed under Chancellor Joseph Wirth, Centrist, who also acts as Foreign Minister; Socialists hold five seats, Democrats two; the People's Party loses out.

May 11.—Germany, in a note to the Allies, accepts unconditionally the reparation terms set forth in the ultimatum of May 5.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

April 15.—In the House, the Emergency Tariff bill is passed, 269 to 112, without amendment; it combines "anti-dumping" legislation with the tariff measure vetoed by President Wilson.

April 16.—The Senate confirms the nomination of George Harvey as Ambassador to Britain, of Myron T. Herrick as Ambassador to France, and of Charles H. Burke as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

April 18.—The Senate confirms the appointment of ex-Congressman Esch to the Interstate Commerce Commission, despite objection by Mr. LaFollette; Frank White of North Dakota is confirmed as Treasurer, and Peter Augustus Jay as Minister to Rumania.

April 19.—The Senate confirms George W. Aldridge of Rochester, N. Y., as Collector of the Port of New York. . . . A general investigation of the railroad situation is ordered.

April 20.—In the Senate, the Colombian treaty is ratified, 69 to 19, minus the original "regret" clause.

April 22.—The House passes the Immigration bill without roll call; it limits incoming aliens to 3 per cent. of their nationals resident under the 1910 census, from May 10, 1921, to June 30, 1922.

April 25.—In the Senate, the resolution of Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.), declaring war with Germany and Austria-Hungary at an end, is reported out of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

In the House, Mr. Volstead (Rep., Minn.) introduces a measure to restrict prescriptions of beer. . . . Mr. Good (Rep., Iowa) reintroduces the budget bill vetoed in the last session.

April 26.—The Senate confirms the Brigadier-Generals nominated by President Harding. . . .

A bill is passed, placing power to regulate and license cable landings in the hands of the president. . . . The budget bill of Mr. McCormick (Rep., Ill.) is adopted.

April 28.—In the House, the Naval appropriation bill of \$396,000,000 is adopted, 212 to 15, without significant change.

April 29.—In the Senate, the Knox peace resolution is passed, 49 to 23.

April 30.—The House, in Committee of the Whole, amends the Army Appropriation bill to limit enlistments to 150,000 men.

May 3.—The Senate passes the Dillingham Immigration bill, similar to the bill vetoed last session, by a vote of 78 to 1, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) opposing.

The Senate confirms E. I. Lewis of Indianapolis and James D. Campbell of Spokane, Wash., for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

May 4.—The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs rejects the Borah amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill looking toward disarmament.

May 5.—The House passes the budget bill, 344 to 9; differences from the Senate bill will be settled in conference.

May 6.—The House defeats, 285 to 46, a resolution to investigate negro disfranchisement in the South, presented by Mr. Tinkham (Rep., Mass.).

May 11.—In the Senate, the Emergency Tariff bill is passed, 63 to 28, including the Knox dye-stuffs protection amendment and the American valuation and anti-dumping clauses.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 14.—The Railroad Labor Board annuls the so-called "national agreements" defining working conditions, effective July 1—thus permitting railroads to make individual contracts with employees except trainmen.

April 16.—Governor Miller of New York appoints his new Transit Commission for New York City; amendments to the transit law are passed with 1200 other bills, including moving picture censorship and repeal of direct primaries before the end of the session; a soldier bonus fund of \$25,000,000 is provided.

April 18.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of recent legislation in New York and the District of Columbia limiting rent increases and otherwise curbing landlords.

April 19.—President Harding speaks in New York at the unveiling of the Simon Bolivar statue.

April 21.—Secretary Weeks announces a peacetime skeletonized General Headquarters for the American Army, to be headed by General Pershing, who will take the field in the event of war "instantly prepared for military operations."

A delegation representing the National Farmers Union confers with President Harding and asks reduction of freight rates and of wages.

April 24.—The city of Hartford defies the Connecticut legislature by adopting daylight saving.

April 25.—President Harding nominates Francis M. Goodwin of Spokane, Wash., as Assistant Secretary of Interior; Robert P. Lovett of Illinois as Assistant Attorney General; and

Theodore G. Riseley as Solicitor for the Department of Labor.

Governor McKelvie signs the legislative enactment prohibiting aliens from acquiring title to land in Nebraska.

April 26.—The New York legislative housing committee uncovers a fire insurance combine which fixes rates and suspends licensed brokers at will. . . . The first dry-law-enforcement jury trial in New York City results in acquittal.

The lower house of the Pennsylvania legislature unseats Speaker Spangler and elects Samuel A. Whitaker to the office, to help carry the Governor's program; Spangler was the choice of Senator Penrose, Whitaker of Governor Sproul.

April 27.—President Harding nominates John R. Mitchell of St. Paul for the Federal Reserve Board and Edward Clifford of Chicago as assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

April 28.—President Harding reviews the Atlantic Fleet in Hampton Roads.

Governor Harding of the Federal Reserve Board announces he will make a personal survey of the farm-credit situation in the Middle West and Southwest.

April 29.—The Federal Trade Commission enters a complaint against the United States Steel Corporation for unfair competition through the Pittsburgh base price and the Pittsburgh plus price.

May 1.—Secretary Mellon suggests to Congress leaders a drastic revision in taxation, eliminating the excess profits tax and reducing income tax rates.

Governor Miller of New York signs the \$25,000,000 soldier-bonus bond bill and the New York City charter revision investigation bill.

May 2.—The United States Supreme Court reverses the conviction of Senator Newberry in the Michigan courts, for violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices act.

The State of New York loses an injunction suit against New Jersey to prevent the disposal of sewage in New York harbor.

May 3.—Secretary Davis calls a conference on the coastwise marine workers strike.

Secretary Weeks announces a policy for rounding up all draft evaders; and lists of wilful deserters are issued by the War Department.

The President sends identic letters to Cabinet officers declaring that present deficiency appropriations indicate a dangerous tendency.

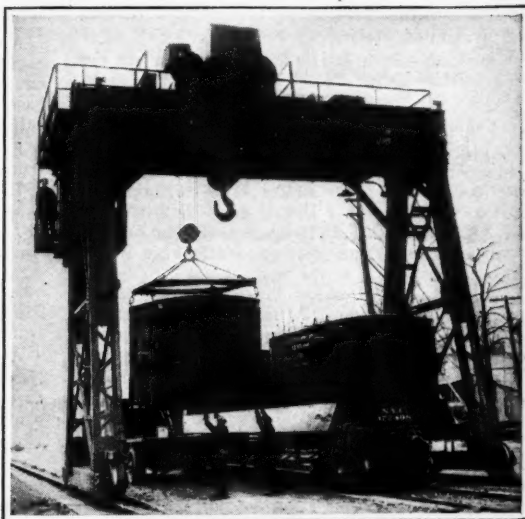
President Harding tells Senate Naval Affairs committeemen he is opposed to the Borah disarmament amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill.

May 4.—General Wood and Mr. Cameron Forbes arrive at Manila on an official mission.

May 5.—Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania signs a repeal of the so called "full crew" law requiring railroads to use a maximum number of trainmen.

May 6.—President Harding names E. Montgomery Reily of Kansas City, Mo., as Governor of Porto Rico.

May 8.—Governor Miller of New York an-



THE CONTAINER FREIGHT CAR IN USE ON THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD

(The car accommodates nine of these containers, each of which can be transported to and from the freight yards on a motor truck without reloading. It is by such devices as this that modern industrial efficiency must solve the problems of car shortage and labor scarcity. The containers are in effect steel safes, burglar-proof in transit.)

ounces a reduction of \$18,000,000 in State expenses by the legislature.

May 10.—President Harding modifies the Wilson order affecting 13,000 post office appointments of the first, second, and third classes by permitting selection from the first three applicants on qualified lists.

Police Commissioner Enright of New York City asks for 1000 men and \$1,106,870 to enforce the new State prohibition enforcement law.

Admiral Henry Braid Wilson, Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, is selected by President Harding to head the Naval Academy, succeeding Rear-Admiral Archibald H. Scales.

May 12.—Admiral Benson seizes six U. S. Shipping Board vessels from the United Transport Company for failure to reduce wages.

May 13.—Secretary Weeks announces that General Pershing will become Chief of Staff July 1, succeeding Maj.-Gen. Peyton C. March.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 14.—Sir Arthur Edward Vicars, former Ulster King-of-Arms, is shot as a traitor by the Irish Republican Army, and his house is burned.

April 15.—A British labor crisis is averted by the withdrawal of Railwaymen and Transport Workers from their announced intention to quit work in sympathy with striking miners.

The Nicaragua Senate rejects a resolution urging the United States to withdraw troops from Managua.

April 21.—Candidates under the new Home Rule Act for Ireland's North Parliament of fifty-two seats begin to file their papers.

Premier Meighen of Canada announces the

intention of the Government to appoint a Minister to the United States.

April 22.—Peru, it is reported, is in a state of dictatorship under President Leguia.

April 24.—The Austrian Tyrol votes by 90 per cent. majority in favor of union with Germany.

April 25.—In England, the budget shows a reduction of the national debt of £247,000,000; the foreign debt is cut £117,154,000; Britain owes £75,000,000 less to the United States and has paid off Japan, Argentine, Uruguay and Holland.

Communists seize the government at Fiume, Italy, after defeat at the polls.

The Japanese House of Peers rejects the measure adopted by the House of Representatives authorizing the participation of women in political associations.

April 27.—The British Government makes a new offer to striking coal miners, insuring against wage cuts exceeding three shillings per shift in May, with graduated reductions monthly till August, to normal, conditioned upon a permanent settlement.

Sir James Williams Lowther, for sixteen years Speaker of the British House of Commons, recently resigned, is succeeded by John Henry Whitley, of Halifax, England.

British coal miners refuse the Government offer of £10,000,000 to keep up wages for the next four months. . . . Sir Edward Carson, retiring from leadership of the Ulster Unionist party, becomes Lord of Appeal, succeeding the late Lord Moulton.

April 29.—Armed Italian Fascisti (Nationalists) seize Fiume from the Socialists.

May 5.—The Ulster Unionist leader, Sir James Craig, confers with "President" De Valera of the Sinn Fein.

May 8.—The Swedish Riksdag passes a bill abolishing capital punishment.

In Italy, rioting between extreme Nationalists and the Communists becomes increasingly violent with the approach of elections; the Socialists lose public sympathy.

In England, recent volunteers to the armed forces riot at Aldershot, Colchester, and Doncaster, with a flavor of Bolshevism.

May 9.—A strike begins at Buenos Aires among dock workers' unions.

May 10.—The English transport workers' executive organization declares a continued embargo on coal imports during the miners' strike.

May 11.—In England, the Government announces it will import coal for essential uses.

May 12.—English railway engineers are instructed by their union not to move "black leg" coal.

May 13.—South Ireland elects 124 unopposed Sinn Fein and 4 Imperialist Dublin members to the new Southern Parliament under the Home Rule Act, none of whom will swear allegiance to the King. . . . Ulster nominates 40 Unionists, 20 Sinn Feiners, 13 Nationalists, and 5 Laborites.

May 15.—In Italy, general parliamentary elections are held, with a strong Socialist vote in some large cities.

In London, Irish Republicans wreak vengeance on former "Black and Tans," by burning and shooting.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 14.—Greeks capture 6,000 Turks in a counter-attack that stops an assault intended to cut the Greeks off from the Afium-Kharahissar base. . . . Greek classes of 1901 to 1903 are called to the colors.

April 15.—President King of Liberia is presented to President Harding by Secretary Hughes; a Liberian loan of \$5,000,000 is practically consummated.

The Polish Diet ratifies the peace treaty with Russia and Ukrainia (the Bolshevik Government ratified March 22 and Ukrainia has not yet acted). Poland gets 3000 square kilometers near Minsk, the district of Polesia on the Ukrainian frontier, and 30,000,000 gold rubles.

April 17.—United States Minister Long, at Havana, reviews recent elections there and states that Washington expects Dr. Zayas to be promptly installed as President of Cuba.

April 19.—The State department at Washington publishes correspondence with Japan regarding the island of Yap; the last American note declares that disposition of German overseas territory is not valid without the assent of the United States.

April 29.—An American note is published (delivered at The Hague on April 19) demanding equal opportunity for Americans in the oil fields of Djambi, Sumatra.

Washington announces Italy's agreement with American policy stated in the note on Yap and other mandates.

May 2.—An American note to Panama is practically an ultimatum to accept the Loubet and White boundary awards, made in accordance with a treaty between Panama and Costa Rica.

May 3.—The Assembly of the League of Nations is called to meet September 5 at Geneva.

The Upper Silesian Interallied Commission declares martial law in the districts of Beuthen and Ratabor, because of the activity of armed Polish insurgents.

May 4.—In Upper Silesia, an organized force of 20,000 Poles attempts to drive out German occupants and occupies the region south of the Kosel-Tarnowitz line.

The Polish uprising in Silesia is taken in command by Adalbert Korfanty, former Polish representative on the Interallied Commission.

May 8.—The Austrian Government replies to the Allied proposal for practical receivership of the nation through the Financial Commission of the League of Nations.

The League Commission on the Aland Islands awards them to Finland, with special recommendations for protecting Swedish interests.

May 12.—Holland sends an unfavorable reply to the American note on Djambi oil concessions.

May 13.—In Germany, Chancellor Wirth speaks for good faith and performance by Germany and fair play by the Allies in Silesia; troops are mobilized along the Oder River for use in upper Silesia.

Lloyd George announces a British Silesian policy of fair play for Germany; advises Poland to adhere to the source of her existence, the Versailles treaty; and criticizes Poland for recent insurrection under Korfanty.

May 14.—Premier Briand warns England that France will not permit German troops to enter Upper Silesia, thus creating an apparent diplomatic break.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 15.—It is announced that 14,852 soldier dead have been brought back to this country for reburial; of 75,882 buried in France, the return of 45,000 has been requested.

Sheet steel prices are reduced \$7 to \$14 a ton.

April 16.—Tornadoes starting in Texas sweep through Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee; 75 are killed.

April 18.—American exports drop \$105,000,000 to \$384,000,000 for March; imports increase \$37,000,000 to \$252,000,000; 1920 exports for March were \$820,000,000, indicating 53 per cent. decrease in foreign trade in one year.

The trustees of the University of Pennsylvania elect General Leonard Wood to head the institution.

The Department of Labor announces a drop of 22 per cent. in retail food prices during the year ended March 15, 1921; the decrease of March over February is only 1 per cent.

April 19.—Union representatives make startling charges before the Railway Labor Board against directors of twelve New York banks, to the effect that they forced stagnation of traffic to defeat labor.

The *Labor Gazette*, in England, reports that wages of 1,689,000 employees have been reduced £680,900 a week.

It is announced by the new Controller that national bank resources dropped \$1,060,148,000 in February, compared with December; and \$1,554,889,000 compared with February, 1920.

April 23.—The Census Bureau announces a total foreign-born population of 13,703,987 in 1920, an increase of 358,442 or 2.6 per cent. over 1910; between 1900 and 1910 there had been an increase of 30.7 per cent.

April 24.—The Near East Relief files a report showing expenditures in 1920 of \$13,129,117; a balance of \$367,219; food relief to 561,970 persons; and a distribution of 300,000 garments.

April 25.—Gold holdings are reported increased to a new high of \$3,045,371,000; imports of gold up to April 10 are \$201,271,594, exports \$5,000,000.

April 26.—At New York, an increase in daily newspaper national advertising of \$50,000,000 is reported for 1920, with a total cost of \$200,000,000.

April 27.—Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press for 28 years, resigns and is succeeded by Frederick Roy Martin.

The Pennsylvania Railroad's dividend rate is cut to 4 per cent., falling below 6 per cent. for the first time in twenty-one years.

April 28.—Philadelphia builders reduce wages from an average of \$1.16 an hour to 88 cents.

May 1.—The United States Navy opens a commercial wireless service between the continent and Indo-China.

A Chicago federal grand jury indicts 110 persons in the sheet metal, plumbing, and steam-fitting trades for restraint of trade.

Marine engineers on coastwise boats go on strike against wage reductions.

May 3.—The United States Steel Corporation reduces 150,000 day laborers about 20 per cent. in wages, with an expected saving of \$58,000,000.

May 6.—Chicago printers accept a wage reduction of \$4.35, but gain a forty-four-hour week instead of forty-eight.

May 11.—British cotton weavers and spinners are reduced in pay 30 per cent.

May 12.—Mingo County (W. Va.) coal strikers fire on several towns from ambush in the hills along the Troy River.

May 13.—The Federal Reserve Board reports an average decline of 6.4 per cent. in wages during the year ended April 1, 1921, with 25 per cent. decrease in employment.

OBITUARY

April 15.—Antonin Dubost, one-time President of the French Senate for fourteen years, 76.

April 18.—Joseph Reinach, French Deputy, historian of the Dreyfus case, 65.

April 19.—Lester Gray French, editor of the *Journal of Mechanical Engineering*, 52. . . . August Scherl, publisher of the *Berlin Wuche* and *Localanzeiger*.

April 20.—Rev. Dr. Abram Woodruff Halsey, secretary of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions since 1899, 69. . . . Prof. George Frederick Wright, noted geologist and author, of Oberlin, Ohio, 83. . . . Justice Charles Edward Blydenburgh, of the Wyoming Supreme Court, 67.

April 22.—Moses Taylor Pyne, lawyer and financier, noted as trustee of Princeton University, 66.

April 23.—John Philip Young, forty-four years editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 71.

April 25.—Peter F. Swing, former judge of the Circuit Court of Ohio, 76.

April 29.—John McGhie, a leading conductor of American light opera, 52.

May 2.—Charles Edwin Bennett, professor of Latin at Cornell University and widely known philologist, 63.

May 3.—Dr. William Robert Brooks, noted astronomer of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., who discovered twenty-seven comets, 77. . . . John William Postgate, editor and formerly publisher of *American Mining News*, 70.

May 4.—Prof. Melville Madison Bigelow, of Boston University, author of legal textbooks, 75. . . . Maximilian Frederick Ihmsen, publisher of the *Los Angeles Examiner*, 53.

May 5.—John Albert Sleicher, editor of *Leslie's Weekly* since 1898, 73.

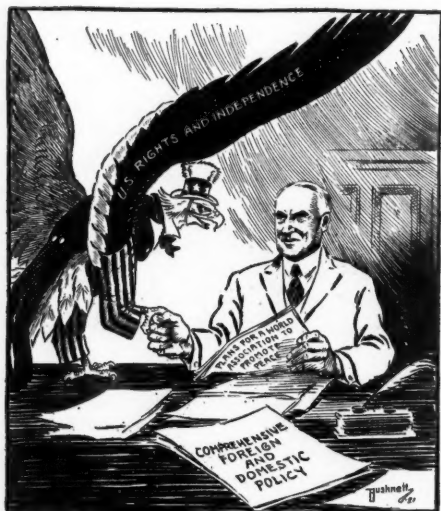
May 6.—W. Friese Greene, reputed English inventor of motion pictures, 66.

May 8.—Bishop Merriman Colbert Harris, Methodist, of Japan and Korea, 75.

May 12.—Rev. Dr. George W. Clinton, for twenty-five years Bishop of the African Methodist Church and most influential negro minister in the South, 62. . . . Countess Emilia Pardo-Bazzan, noted Spanish authoress.

May 15.—Major Gen. Francis Vinton Greene (U. S. A., retired), former Police Commissioner of New York and noted military writer, 70.

A SURVEY OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN CARTOONS



"YOUR THEORIES SOUND GOOD—NOW LET'S GET BUSY AND GIVE THEM A TRY-OUT!"

From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)



JUST LIKE OLD TIMES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, UNDER SECRETARY HUGHES

From the Tribune © (New York)



THE PEACE TREATY AND LEAGUE COVENANT FACING A DIFFICULT OPERATION

From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)

590



"THERE'LL BE ONLY ONE PILOT FOR THIS SHIP"

From the Times (New York)

[The "Bitter Enders" in the Senate, who favor a policy of non-participation in European adjustments, have found little to comfort them during recent weeks]



TWO KINDS OF BUSINESS MEN

[One automobilist waits for the road to dry out. The other hires the team "Energy" and "Advertising" to pull him out]
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



WHY GET EXCITED OVER SUCH A LITTLE "FLOOD"?

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THERE is every evidence in the cartoons on the opposite page that the American public is giving President Harding and Sec-

retary Hughes every opportunity to try their hand at guiding the ship of state through turbulent waters in unsettled weather.



HE NEEDS A DISARMAMENT TRIMMING—BUT WHO WILL BEGIN IT, AND WHERE?

From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)



"G'WAN, RUN, YOU BUSINESS MAN—THE WIND'S RISING!"

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



WILLING TO SHARE IN THE HARVEST BUT NOT IN THE WORK

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

On the three pages immediately following this some foreign cartoons are reproduced which throw light upon world situations in which Americans are interested. Naturally, the German reparations question has enlisted the best efforts of European caricaturists.



WILL PRESIDENT HARDING FAVOR THE LATEST PEACE MODEL?

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

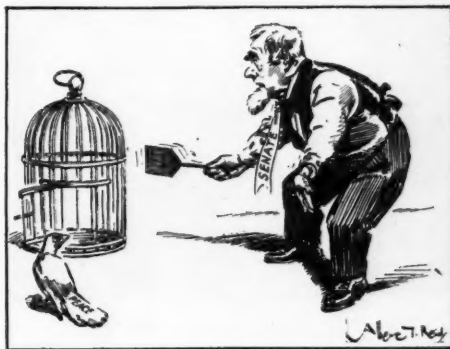
June—3



THE RIGHT DIRECTION
From the *Times* (New York)

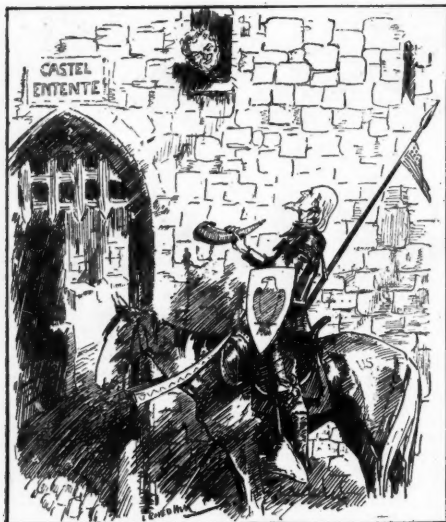


BUT UNCLE SAM REFUSED TO LISTEN
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



TRYING TO GET THE PEACE DOVE BACK INTO THE CAGE

From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



THE VACANT PLACE

UNCLE SAM (as Childe Jonathan): "Take notice that I insist upon having a voice in your councils"

SIR BULL: "My dear fellow, you know perfectly well there's been a seat reserved for you for the last two years."

From *Punch* (London, England)



A SWISS VIEW OF HARDING AND THE LEAGUE

(In his message to Congress, President Harding has given the newly born League of Nations [Volkerbund] the finishing stroke.)

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



THE NEW MAN AT THE WHITE HOUSE

KLADDERADATSCH (to President Harding): "This great man, your predecessor, abolished slavery of the blacks in America. Do you know that there are people in Europe who want to introduce slavery for their white fellow creatures?"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

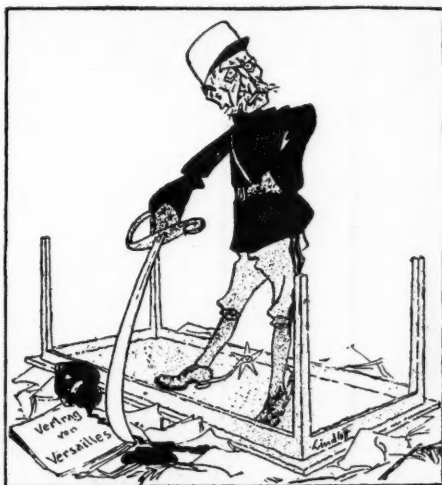


VIVIANI'S RETURN FROM AMERICA

MARIANNE (representing France): "Are these stars giving light?"

From the *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris, France)

[France was curious to know whether the new American policy would be such as to bring light into the European situation or obscure it. Marianne's question was soon answered by the refusal of President Harding and Secretary Hughes to interfere in the interest of Germany; and the Allies' terms were then accepted]



THE END OF THE DISCUSSION

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[German cartoonists delight to picture France as militaristic in the extreme, under the leadership of Marshal Foch]



LLOYD GEORGE AND FRANCE

Were you blind in London, as well as in Paris, that you trusted to the guidance of the French Cock?

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

"God knows where we shall land!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

PLAINTS OF THE MARTYR

GERMANY: "Uncle Sam! Those French imperialists! They will not permit me to make one step toward paying for the devastations."

UNITED STATES: "Nonsense! You want to pay as little as possible. Now stop bothering about it!"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

THE ENTENTE CORDIAL—IN THE STREET, AND IN THE HOUSE

[In the street all is serene. But in private, France is shown as lecturing England, Italy is quarreling with the Balkans, the United States is scolding Belgium, and so on]—From *Hojas Selectas* (Barcelona, Spain)





LLOYD GEORGE'S POSITION ON GERMAN REPARATIONS

FRANCE: "Come further this way!"

BRITISH WORKMAN: "Come back here!"

From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

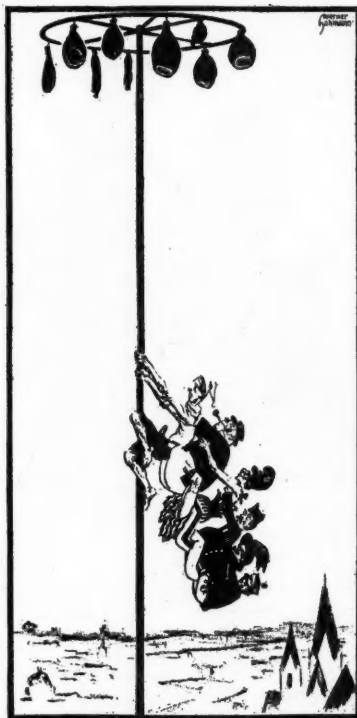


LOGICAL REPLY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

FRANCE: "Work and pay. Those are the conditions."

GERMANY: "But if I don't eat I can't do either."

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



THE PART GERMANY PLAYS

ENTENTE: "Hold fast, Fritz!"

GERMANY (the one nearest the pole):
Certainly, but excuse me if I let go for a
moment to spit on my hands!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



TURKEY AND HER ENEMIES

From *Vahded* (Constantinople, Turkey)

[Facing bayonets on both sides, the defenceless Turk opposed further territorial aggression by the victors in the late war]



A UNITED FRONT

The British Lion and the French Cock both oppose the "incredible impudence" of the Hun or his "incredible stupidity."

From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)

GERMANY TAKES HER MEDICINE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. A NEW CRISIS

WITH the month in which this article is published comes the seventh anniversary of the assassination of Serajevo which fired the train leading to the world powder magazine. And at the very moment when this anniversary was at hand, we had been faced with a new world crisis. Once more as in the momentous days of July almost seven years ago, mobilization was taking place in Europe. Moreover, the hundredth anniversary of the death of the great Napoleon saw French troops preparing for a new invasion of Germany.

The cause of the latest crisis needs little discussion here. For many months I have been pointing out to my readers that in the final analysis the European problem came down to just this: Germany was seeking to win by evasion in peace what she failed to win during more than four years of war, namely, the substantial victory which should leave her all-powerful on the continent of Europe. Having ruined her neighbors by her methods of conducting war, she was seeking, by avoiding all payment, to preserve her achievement.

And always it has been equally plain that France, victorious in the war, but ruined fiscally if she were not repaid, was bound to meet and to defeat the German maneuver. For two years France has been fighting another Verdun, less romantic, less appealing than that which she contested under the ramparts of the old Vauban fortress, but not less vital for the French nation. And in all this time, now by one method, now by another, Germany has sought, as she sought at Verdun, to come at victory over the ruins of France.

After two years, a decision could no longer be postponed and France, united within her own frontiers, undertook to mobilize her armies and take matters in her own hands. With the arrival of May 1, the date when Germany would be in default, both with respect of money payments and of military disarmaments, France proposed to

seize upon the unquestioned legal justification for a military action.

This action, moreover, was to be drastic. It was to take the form of an occupation of the Ruhr District, which may well be described as the Pennsylvania of Germany. Once this region was occupied by France, not only would the armies of the Republic dominate the greatest industrial area in all of Europe, containing the richest and most productive coal deposits, but Germany would be compelled to apply at the French guard lines for that coal without which she could not run her factories, could not, in fact, live.

Patently such an occupation promised a further dislocation of the industrial and economic life of Europe, of the world. It meant the further restriction and paralysis of that German market whose existing paralysis had had evil repercussions upon American and British economic life. Such an occupation, then, was bound to be against the interests of Britain, of the United States, even of Italy, for whom German industry is an essential detail.

We had then the unmistakable effort on the part of the United States in an exchange of notes with Germany, of Britain and of Italy in the London Conference, to prevail upon Germany to accept a reasonable arrangement, to accept and honestly undertake to discharge a bill not in excess of her capacity and manifestly not excessive, given the extent of the injury she had done her neighbors. There was, at the same time, unmistakable pressure exerted upon the French to stay their hands, to restrain their impatience, and their wholly warranted indignation, while those nations which had fought with France against a common enemy sought once more and for the last time to reach settlement without new military action.

What this settlement was, or rather what the terms fixed at London were, I shall discuss in detail in a moment, but now I am anxious to make clear the political situation. Briand, the French Prime Minister, could no longer restrain the almost unanimous demand of France that action be taken since

payment was refused and in addition to evading just reparations the Germans were defying those other clauses of the Treaty of Versailles which imposed disarmament upon the German people.

France was all for action without further debate, because after two years the French approach fiscal bankruptcy, and German defiance mounted with each month of successful evasion. The rest of the world, save for Belgium, less vitally concerned in reparations than in German markets, sought with equal earnestness to postpone, to prevent the French military action. In the end Briand bowed to the will of the other statesmen at London. We had one more pause, which endures at the moment I write but will end in a few days.

II. WHAT IT MEANT

But looking at the political side of the London Conference, one fact must be recognized beyond all others. It is a matter of question now whether Briand can defend himself at home from the attacks of those who believe that he has failed France by consenting even to the brief delay which is represented in the time limit attached to the ultimatum despatched to Germany. But there is no last fraction of the French public which, in any case, will support a policy that hesitates again.

We are, then, squarely at the turning-point in the history of contemporary Europe. It would not have been possible for Britain, Italy, the United States, the world, to restrain France if the Germans had not surrendered unconditionally. Nor will it be possible to withhold French armies if Germany, signing in bad faith now, presently provokes a new crisis by fresh evasions. Not for Germany but for the cause of world economic restoration the British and the Italians, sympathetically supported by the Americans, have saved Germany for a few brief hours and provided her with one more chance like those which German statesmen have thrown away so frequently in all the months that separate the outbreak of the World War from the last international conference.

Further intervention on behalf of Germany is both impossible and unthinkable, if Germany perseveres in her familiar course. To imagine that France will pause again, submit once more to German policy, is to believe that the French people will consent

to their own destruction. If Briand has yielded in London it is only because the French Parliament was not in session and before it could assemble events would have taken a decisive turn. But on the nature of the turn depends his political existence. Indeed, he may fall in any event, because of the risks he has run.

For Americans it is essential to recognize the fact in the European situation. From the moment of the armistice to the present hour the problem has not changed. France, half ruined by the war, by the unprovoked German assault, victorious by the most tremendous sacrifices any nation has ever supported, was resolved in 1918, is resolved now, that Germany shall pay or perish, and the power to destroy remains in French hands. If there is to be a prosperous and restored Germany, the antecedent condition is that there shall be a prosperous, restored and secure France.

So far Germany has failed to recognize the fact. She has believed that the desire of the British, the French, the Italians for a restoration of business order, of the German and Central European markets, would lead them to coerce France and support Germany. She has believed that the divergent interests would wreck the alliance which had defeated her. She has maneuvered and intrigued; she has hoped for British support and for American championship. She has refused to recognize that she lost the war; she has obstinately rejected the notion that she must pay.

But it has been recognized in London, in Rome, in Washington, that however desirable, however essential for prosperity all over the world, was German restoration, that restoration at the expense of France was unthinkable. Thus, in the end, we have seen the note of Secretary Hughes to Berlin, advising Germany to make proper proposals and accept the obligation to pay up to her capacity, and we have seen the London Conference, lacking such a German application, reluctantly accept the French thesis, that military occupation was the sole resource, provided German resistance continued.

Under the threat of this occupation Germany will now sign the London document as she signed the Treaty of Versailles. But it would be a mistake to think that mere signature will now avail. Times have changed since the memorable days of May and June, 1919. Two years of constant evasion have served to exhaust the patience of the French

and limit the right or the ability of the other Allied nations to intervene. Thus, we are going to have a long period of tension now, in any event, even if German submission is prompt and complete, so far as official action is concerned. We are going to have France, mounting guard on the left bank of the Rhine, ready to act in the Ruhr at the slightest sign of German bad faith.

After all, the root of the whole difficulty is German bad faith. Everyone recognizes that there is a limit to Germany's capacity to pay. Almost everyone believes that world tranquillity and prosperity demand that Germany should not be driven beyond that limit, that there should be a prosperous and peaceful Germany, as there must be a Germany consenting to bear the huge burdens which German policies and deeds have imposed upon the German people. But if the world is perfectly cognizant of the facts on this side of the equation, it is not less convinced that Germany must pay and that unless she does undertake to pay and continue in good faith, her ruin will be accomplished.

The arrival of French troops in the Ruhr would mean something more than a mere extension of the area occupied by Allied troops. It would mean that the whole economic machine of Germany would pass into French hands. It would mean that the French, in effect, would seize the powerhouse upon which all German industry depends. It would mean, in reality, the beginning of a real economic servitude for the Germans. And beyond this economic servitude would lie the patent possibility of political disintegration. A total ruin of the German political as well as economic edifice was at least a real possibility, if Allied armies, which in practice means French, were again set in motion.

But for this evil without limit there is no conceivable remedy, if Germany continues the policy which has been followed from the very moment when her statesmen recognized in the tragedy of Serajevo, that opportunity for world power which had long been sought and then seemed attainable. France can and France will destroy Germany rather than let German policy accomplish French ruin. And in the last analysis no other nation can or will undertake to save Germany in such circumstances.

Since Germany now bows to Allied demands, we shall have a breathing space, but only that. Nothing will be settled merely because Germany will sign the document

of London, just as nothing was settled when she set her name to that of Versailles. The real relief in the world situation, political as well as economic, can only come when Germany honestly undertakes and begins faithfully to execute the obligation which she must assume. So far even her assent has been purchased only by the application of force.

French troops had to go to Frankfort to compel German troops to retire from the occupied district and to make German industry comply with the coal clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. It is the threat of French military action now which is the sole force that has brought Germany to submission. The French are bound to find confirmation for their contention that Germany recognizes only force in all that has happened in recent days. And as a consequence France is going to keep her army ready and henceforth she will feel free to employ that army if German bad faith again induces a crisis.

We have, then, not arrived at a settlement yet. We Americans have a prodigious capacity for believing in the efficacy of any contract which actually achieves signature, but the truth is that no document can solve the present tangle, no "scrap of paper" bridge the chasm which separates a peaceful Europe of 1914 from the storm-wracked Continent of 1921. The best that can come now is a postponement of what would be a world calamity, injurious to the United States as to all other countries, namely, the occupation of German industrial regions by Allied troops. But it can only prove a postponement if Germany does not at last change her view and her policies.

III. THE CONFERENCE OF LONDON

After two years of discussion, debate, conferences, international crises and disturbances without number, the London Conference at last arrived at certain clear and definite facts with respect of the question of German reparations. A sum total was fixed, a method of payment was prescribed, an ultimatum was sent forward to Berlin calling for submission or assent—submission to penalties of which the occupation of the Ruhr district was the most serious, or assent to the London proposals without condition or further protest.

Turning for a moment from the field of political controversy, I desire now to discuss

in some detail the new fact, which is the decision of the Reparations Commission, henceforth the basis of all official discussion of what Germany must pay to satisfy the demands of the Allies.

To begin at the beginning, the Treaty of Versailles created this Reparations Commission, empowered it with the task of deciding how much Germany owed and how she should pay. Germany's liabilities, what were proper claims and what improper, were carefully settled at the Paris Conference. In the main only actual war damage was recognized, although through the artful pleadings of General Smuts war pensions were added. But all the Paris Conference did, aside from making these provisions for the Commission, was to name a sum of \$5,000,000,000 which Germany was required to pay, in money or in kind, on or before May 1, 1921. For the rest, the matter was left entirely with the Reparations Commission.

Now it must be plain at the outset that it was not the business of the Reparations Commission to decide how much Germany *could* pay. It had merely to receive the claims presented by the victims of German aggression, to examine them, to investigate them, to allow or reject them, and then to make up the account, which would consist of the sums actually allowed. All the debate over German capacity to pay was and is outside the Commission's legitimate field of discussion.

When it had completed its report, which was rendered at the recent London Conference, the Reparations Commission disclosed its decision that the bill against Germany, the sum rightfully claimed by all the several nations which had suffered from German aggressions on land and sea, was \$33,000,000,000, using round numbers. In addition it decided that Germany had already paid \$2,000,000,000 instead of the \$5,000,000,000 which was due on or before May 1, as a result of the original order of the Paris Conference.

Now this sum, \$33,000,000,000, is the existing bill against Germany. It is what she ought, in the judgment of the Reparations Commission, to pay to her victims. With this sum fixed we can now turn to the always tangled question of how much Germany can pay. Obviously the sum \$33,000,000,000 is vastly in excess of any sum which has been seriously considered in either British or American quarters since the meet-

ing of the Paris Conference. The American figures have ranged between \$10,000,000,000 and \$20,000,000,000; the British have tended to seek the same maximum and minimum.

At London, in March, Germany offered to pay \$7,500,000,000. Through Washington in the last days of April, she suggested \$10,000,000,000, but both offers were so surrounded by political conditions as to be unacceptable, and they were regarded as too low by a majority of open-minded financial experts. Yet if \$10,000,000,000 was regarded as too low, it was patent that \$33,000,000,000 was outside the limits of present possibility.

Here we touch upon one of the most disturbing factors in the whole reparations debate. There is no great difficulty in deciding what Germany can and cannot pay in her present condition. There is no great difficulty in determining how much more Germany could pay if suddenly or even ultimately her prosperity of 1914 should return. But who can say what will be the development of German industry in the future? With the iron of Lorraine permanently lost, the coal of the Sarre lost at least temporarily, with the Upper Silesian coal field a matter of dispute, with the agricultural districts of Posen gone, with the merchant marine and the colonies gone, who can decide how much and how fast Germany will recover?

Thus, except for a relatively minor sum, which could be collected at once, the whole reparations problem was and remains a gigantic speculation. It was plain that Germany could only pay up the vast sums owed, even if the minimum figures were accepted, in a long term of years. But how could one decide in advance exactly how much Germany would be able to pay in 1931, or in 1941, or even in 1951, for in any case payments will extend that long? If a small sum were accepted as the permanent figure, then, should Germany recover more rapidly than had been expected, she would escape paying much of what she owed, but if too large a payment were demanded in the beginning, her whole recovery might be blocked.

Out of this situation came the long debates which have so confused and complicated the situation. In the end the Supreme Council, sitting at London, has arrived at the following basis of settlement: It has first accepted the figure of the Reparations Commission as

the maximum of German obligations. In other words, this is the sum Germany must pay, if she can. It represents the bill and it represents the bill which has been audited. If Germany does not pay this amount, she will not have completely discharged her obligations.

Having accepted the total of the Reparations Commission, the Supreme Council has then passed to the fixing of a sum immediately possible. It has decided that, given the present condition of Germany, given her immediate prospects, she will be able to carry a debt of \$12,500,000,000, that is, that she will be able to pay the interest and a small sinking fund on this sum. Moreover, to provide this interest and sinking fund, the Supreme Council has ordered Germany to pay \$500,000,000 annually and in addition 25 per cent. of the value of the exports of Germany each year.

So far there is no real cause for protest. Germany has herself, through President Harding, offered to pay \$10,000,000,000, and even this offer was so phrased as to leave it possible for the President of the United States to suggest a larger sum. The same is true of the fixed annual payment of \$500,000,000. Both principal and interest fall well within what the American experts in the Commission to Negotiate Peace deemed possible and reasonable. But \$500,000,000 annually represents only 4 per cent. on the total sum of \$12,500,000,000. Thus there is left a sum of \$250,000,000 to be found, if the bonds issued to meet the capital sum are to bear interest at 5 per cent., and in addition provision is to be made for a 1 per cent. sinking fund.

It is at this point that the 25 per cent. foreign trade tax becomes effective. If Germany does an export business of \$1,000,000,000, then the yield of the 25 per cent. tax will be \$250,000,000, and this added to the \$500,000,000 fixed annual charge will bear the burden of the \$12,500,000,000 bond issue. Before the war Germany did a foreign business of \$2,000,000,000. Thus the present arrangement can be floated if German trade shall amount to half the figure before the war.

So far, then, all is clear and, whatever German comment, the demand is by no means excessive, although in practice there will be much difficulty in collecting the 25 per cent. tax. But of a total debt of \$33,000,000,000 only \$12,500,000,000 is thus cared for, and there still remains

\$20,500,000,000 to be discharged. Here we touch the speculative element in the arrangement. Germany can only pay more than \$12,500,000,000, which represents her present capacity, provided there is a very rapid restoration of her prosperity. But this will reveal itself promptly in her foreign trade. Thus if German exports rise above \$1,000,000,000, and the returns from the 25 per cent. tax exceed \$250,000,000, then, and only then, it will be possible to issue more bonds.

Accordingly Germany is to turn over to the Reparations Commission, in addition to the \$12,500,000,000 obligations, which are to be delivered in two batches on July 1 and on November 1, other blank bonds for the whole \$20,500,000,000 balance. If and when the return from the export tax warrants the conclusion that more bonds can be successfully cared for, the Reparations Commission is to issue such bonds up to the sum total, which is the \$20,500,000,000. But only as German prosperity warrants it can there be any such issue on the part of the Commission.

IV. HOW IT WILL WORK

Now, as a matter of practice, Germany is to begin her payments by delivering in gold or in equally good credit a sum of \$250,000,000 to her creditors on or before June 1. This represents the first semi-annual payment on account of the \$500,000,000 due each year. Thus, when you come down to "brass tacks," what Germany has to do, now, is to pay \$250,000,000 to her creditors on or before June 1. That is all the money she has to part with until November 1, when she has to pay another \$250,000,000. As the German Government, through President Harding, offered an immediate payment of \$250,000,000, this also is plainly within the limits of reason.

In the meantime Germany will hand over to the Reparations Commission bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest, amounting to \$3,000,000,000, which must be delivered by July 1, and more bonds, amounting to \$9,500,000,000, by September 1. These bonds will be distributed among the creditors, France receiving 52 per cent., Great Britain 22 per cent., Italy and Belgium 10 per cent.; and they will be free to dispose of them as they please and can. Thus, on or before September 1, France will have German bonds amounting to \$6,500,000,000, which will serve to bridge the chasm in her financial

affairs, due to the costs of reparations already undertaken but, as yet, unpaid for.

There are other minor details in this scheme, but they need not detain us here, since what I am endeavoring to do is to give a rapid and concise view of the London proposal. In sum, Germany must undertake at once to bear the burden of a foreign debt of \$12,500,000,000 and agree to meet the costs of this by an annual cash payment of \$500,000,000 in two instalments, and by permitting a 25 per cent. levy on her foreign trade, to which an additional 1 per cent. is added to contribute to an accumulation against future issues. But the sum total of German obligations at the moment and so long as her condition remains what it is amounts to \$760,000,000 annually.

If one cares for a measure of thus sum, it is approximately what the American people now have to pay on the sum of their loans to their Allies during the war, which, with the interest still unpaid, will amount before long to \$12,000,000,000.

The merit of the proposal lies in the fact that it places upon Germany an immediate burden no greater than the most conservative financial experts regard as possible, and only a very little greater than the sum Germany herself proposed to President Harding—\$12,500,000,000 against \$10,000,000,000, and, in point of fact, the exact sum of \$12,500,000,000 was also named by the Germans, but with confusing and unsatisfactory interest conditions.

Its further advantage lies in the fact that it provides a method for reaching German prosperity, if that prosperity arrives. For it must be perceived that, whatever be the possibility or impossibility of German payment of the full \$33,000,000,000, this is the sum which in right and justice is due. If Germany does not pay it, then the burden will rest upon those whom she attacked and the guilty will escape and the innocent suffer. But, on the other hand, Germany has only to pay up to the limit of her capacity, which has been accepted as her duty by everyone, including President Harding, who made this point admirably clear in his message to Congress in April.

The evil of the proposal is found in the fact that payments are necessarily protracted over a long term of years, while the feature of the export tax opens the way for every sort of dispute and for all sorts of protests from neutral nations and even from the United States, which will have in fact to pay

the tax, since it will be added to the cost of all German exports, although in theory it is not an export tax and the proposal carefully prescribes that it may be paid from other sources. But this is mere eyewash, for it must be paid from the exports and in no other way.

That Germany can pay the original sum of \$12,500,000,000 seems too obvious to need discussion. That she can ever pay more is open to debate. That she will pay the present sum or any additional sum is a matter for debate, and agreement over it is practically not to be achieved. Those who desire can point to the record of past performances and supply an argument which is unanswerable. In practice it may turn out that the original sum of \$12,500,000,000 will prove all that Germany can or all that she will pay, but all this is for the future to disclose.

At all events, we have now, two years after the Paris Conference and in strict conformity with its provisions, arrived at a sum total of reparations, a method of payment, and a whole proposed settlement, which must be regarded as just and reasonable, and the best solution conceivable of a problem which, given that good faith which Germany has never yet shown, might still prove well-nigh insoluble.

Whether Germany now elects to perform or evade it, it is certain to be the most favorable offer that she can ever hope to receive. In every way she has arrived at the supreme crisis. She must choose between undertaking a terrific burden, the most terrible any nation has ever been compelled to bear (but not in excess of her deserts), and seeing her territory invaded again, her coal districts taken from her, and the process of dismemberment begun and pushed forward to a logical and fatal end. At London, the world did its best for Germany; henceforth her fate is in her own hands.

And it must be remembered that up to the present moment Germany is the victor among the Continental European nations, despite her losses of territory to Poland and to France. She has retained her industry intact and her fields and cities undestroyed. Up to the moment of the London Conference she was without foreign debt, although France, Italy and Great Britain, as well as Belgium, were heavily indebted to the United States. And no one can mistake German purpose to continue to evade payment, to create a condition of apparent

bankruptcy at home, and thus establish a case of inability to pay abroad.

In reality the decision of London amounts to passing sentence upon the prisoner found guilty at Versailles. All else that had been done to Germany before the decision of London had been relatively insignificant. In the financial terms there agreed upon the Germans must find the first unmistakable proof of the decision of the war. These terms frankly carry with them the certainty of economic obligations which are little short of servitude for a generation, perhaps for half a century, but there is no other conceivable fashion in which the wrongs could be repaired.

It would be idle to accept the London result, even if Germany gives its sincere assent, as exorcising the whole evil permanently. We shall have reparations troubles until the last dollar is paid or forgiven, but in one important sense the situation has been improved—we have now a clear decision and a properly established statement of obligations and of payments. In a word, we have a law, harsh but not unjust, much less impossible—and behind the law lies the power, henceforth not to be challenged, if Germany invokes its application.

V. THE UPPER SILESIAN REVOLT

While the world's attention was fixed upon the London Conference, events at the other end of Europe served to emphasize once more how far we are still from a real settlement. A month ago I described the result of the Upper Silesian plebiscite held to determine the ultimate disposition of that district, which, next to the Ruhr, contains the richest coal deposits in Europe. In this election the whole Upper Silesian area was carried by the Germans, their majority being well over 200,000.

But under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles the boundary was to be fixed, not in accordance with the total vote, that is, not treating Upper Silesia as a unit, but by commune, that is, by district. Thus it resulted that there was an immediate dispute between German and Polish claims. The Germans stolidly insisted that having carried the whole district they were entitled to regain it all. The Poles responded by quoting the language of the Treaty.

Now to follow the language of the Treaty exactly was impossible for the simple reason that while the Poles carried most of the

southeastern corner of Upper Silesia they did not carry it all. Of eight rural counties which, roughly speaking, cover the mineral area, they carried seven—most of them by very large majorities. But within the area of the rural counties were four city counties, all of which the Germans carried by very large majorities, including the cities of Konisghutte, Beuthen and Kattowitz, which were the industrial centers.

A logical settlement, conforming to the spirit of the Treaty provisions, would have been to give to the Poles the rural districts which they carried, as well as the city districts within their limits. This would have assigned to the Poles about two-fifths of the total area of Upper Silesia, and would have permitted the making of a well-defined boundary. More than this, the vote in this area, taken as a whole, showed a Polish majority of about 20,000.

This solution, advocated by the French, was, however, flatly opposed by the British and the Italians. From the outset British policy has been absolutely hostile to Poland, as was well disclosed at the time of the Conference of Paris and in the case of Danzig. As for the Italians, since Poland is a close ally of France, any expansion in the importance of Poland means a corresponding increase in French influence in Europe, and thus is a cause for Italian disapproval.

The solution proposed by the British and the Italians was to give to Poland two rural counties and a portion of a third, namely, Pless, Rybnik and part of Kattowitz, where the Polish vote was overwhelming. But the mineral deposits in this region are less valuable and less exploited than elsewhere, and in reality the Anglo-Italian solution meant depriving Poland of the larger portion of the territory actually carried by the Poles and containing about 350,000 Poles, who had voted to be reunited to their Slav brethren in the new Polish state.

The London Conference was accordingly deadlocked on the Upper Silesian question. Meantime the German newspapers with great promptitude began to circulate reports of the situation and to assert that the Poles were going to receive only Pless, Rybnik and a shaving of Kattowitz. Aroused by this rumor the Polish majority in the southern districts took up arms and was promptly reinforced by bands of Poles crossing the nearby Polish frontier. Once more, as in the case of the Italians at Fiume and of the Rumanians in Bessarabia, and as in the case

of Vilna, in their own recent history, the Poles undertook to carry into effect the decision arrived at under the application of the principle of self-determination.

The result was new chaos. The Italian troops who actually resisted the Poles, who were putting into practice the method which all Italy had approved of in the case of Fiume, suffered severe casualties. The British troops were somewhat roughly handled. Even the French, although more tolerant of the situation and plainly full of sympathy with their Polish allies, did not escape dangers and even losses.

Once more confronted by a practical problem, the Supreme Council found itself powerless to agree and adjourned without decision. For all the great powers this Polish affair was terribly annoying. From the British and Italian point of view, concession to Germany at the expense of the Poles was a necessary condition to persuading Germany to accept the stern reparations ultimatum. Even the French were bound to appreciate the awkwardness of the case in which Germany was commanded to disarm, but at the same time saw territories to which she had still a valid claim, since the Supreme Council had not yet decided, invaded by Polish troops, while German military forces were powerless to act.

Yet the real vice of the Upper Silesian situation must be found in the fact that, if the principle of self-determination, openly invoked by the Treaty of Versailles, and if the language of the treaty regulating the division of the territory were to be followed, the claim of the Poles was just. Stripped of all details, what the British and Italians really undertook to do was what the great powers had so often done in the case of the Balkan states before 1914, namely, use the territory of weaker nations to pay debts and suit the convenience of the great powers themselves, without regard to the rights of the peoples concerned.

On the economic side the case of the Germans in Upper Silesia is unassailable. They have developed this territory; they have transformed it into one of the great industrial regions of the world. Moreover, if Germany is to pay a huge reparations account, she must certainly draw not a little of her resources from this same Upper Silesian district. No one can deny that it will be more difficult for Germany to pay France and Belgium, as well as the other creditors, if she loses Upper Silesia.

But the same argument could well be invoked, as indeed it was invoked, for the Germans in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, in the case of Fiume for Jugo-Slavia. Indeed, the Germans in the heyday of their war prosperity used to justify their prospective annexation of northern France and Belgium by the assertion that they would turn the resources of these regions to better advantage by organizing them in the German fashion. All of which found little hearing among the French and the Belgians.

One has to decide these questions either on the basis of economic factors or racial and, in the main, in the Paris settlement, the decision has been on racial grounds. In the case of Upper Silesia the promise had been to settle the question in accordance with the vote. Indeed the vote was a second thought, for in the first draft the territory was assigned to Poland outright. What the Anglo-British proposal actually contemplated was the negating of the vote, for reasons which were economic and political.

As I write these lines the situation remains unsettled. The Poles may be forced to submit. They may follow the course of the Italians in Fiume and of the Rumanians in Bessarabia and hold their ground. In either case we are bound to have trouble, for if the Germans return to control in the districts which have voted and striven for Polish sovereignty, their reprisals are sure to follow and we shall have another Ireland or, if you prefer, another Alsace-Lorraine. But if the Poles do not submit, then the Supreme Council will be called upon to take measures to enforce its decisions.

But to enforce must mean the use of troops and neither the Italians nor the British can afford to send tens of thousands of men to Upper Silesia. As for the French, they will neither send troops nor permit the Germans to use troops against their own Polish Allies. But the Germans will be able to seize upon this pretext for refusing to disarm, and they will doubtless endeavor to use it to promote discord between the French on the one hand and the British and the Italians on the other.

Anyone who has read Mr. Lansing's remarks upon self-determination in his recent book will recognize how accurate was much that he said on this subject, but the truth is that in this case it is not the application of the principle, but the refusal to apply it after invoking it, which has led to the present crisis.

VI. GERMANY AND POLAND

After all, in the midst of the disturbing factors in Europe, there is none more likely to be of permanent menace to the peace of the world than that Polish-German feud which is more than a thousand years old and shows no sign of disappearing. Poland has now become a potential force in Europe. Her population already exceeds 30,000,000, and her area falls only a little short of that of Germany, and will in the next few years rapidly overtake it.

But the frontiers between the German and Polish races are indefensible on any ground. They have been drawn without due regard to the rights of either race, and with open defiance of all economic considerations. Poland has not acquired Danzig outright, but to give her access to the port, on which her hold is very illusory, Prussia has been cut in half and the condition restored which led Frederick the Great to engineer the partitions of the 18th Century.

Nothing is more certain than that both the Poles and the Germans will, for all time in the future, seek more favorable adjustments. The Germans will endeavor to regain Posen, West Prussia, the absolute title to Danzig and any territory they may lose in Upper Silesia. The Poles, on their side, will aim to gain real possession of Danzig, to widen the Baltic corridor, to acquire whatever of Upper Silesia is denied to them now, in defiance of the vote at the recent plebiscite.

And just as France now backs Poland against Britain and Italy in the matter of Upper Silesia, France is bound to back Poland in any war with Germany, for Poland, a strong Poland, is the main reliance France has in the event of a new German attack. If Poland becomes strong, then the French situation in Europe becomes secure. But if Poland is destroyed or made weak, France must expect a new German attack on the Rhine without the assurance of an ally along the Vistula and the Oder.

It is conceivable that Germany might in time accept the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, might accept the frontiers in the west, which were drawn at Versailles, but no one who knows the German at all can believe that he will, save in the presence of overwhelming force, accept the Polish settlement. This is the circumstance which underlies the present Upper Silesian dispute. Neither Britain nor Italy cares a brass farthing about Poland.

Both are willing to see France restrained in the east of Europe, fearing that as a consequence of French alliances with eastern states, France will assume a dominant position on the Continent again.

To-day France has made compacts with Poland, with Rumania and with Czechoslovakia, while her relations with Jugo-Slavia are of the closest. By virtue of these compacts she occupies a position in Europe which has not been held by the French Republic in its history, and was lost to France with the collapse of the Second Empire. This position will increase as the power of Poland expands. And Poland's recent treaties with Russia and the Ukraine have added vast areas to her territories. All of which excites little enthusiasm either in London or Rome.

Americans have then to keep in mind the play of European rivalries and jealousies which are going on all the time under the surface. The Silesian question has excited much American comment, but the comment has been based on the literal acceptance of the explanations set forth in the European press, which is influenced entirely by national considerations, although these considerations are disguised behind solemn appeals to principles which may be applicable or may seem applicable.

But if one takes the trouble to recall how each nation has applied the principle which it now invokes when its own interests conflicted with that principle, he will perceive that there is something beside principle at stake. At Paris Mr. Wilson was almost constantly made the victim of his own fourteen points and used by one group of nations to block another when, in fact, neither group had the smallest concern for the principle, but was deeply engaged in a battle for its own selfish interests.

And, at bottom, no principle is elastic enough to meet the conditions which have resulted from a thousand years and more of struggle between Poles and Germans in eastern Europe. All that one can safely say is that the battle has entered a new phase and that this new phase will have repercussions all over the Continent and may, in the economic field at least, have effects in the United States as well.

For many historical students Napoleon's greatest blunder was his failure to restore Poland. On the Napoleonic anniversary the French Republic is striving eagerly to repair his error and thus avoid the fate of the Empire—overthrown by a renascent Prussia.

VII. POSTSCRIPT—GERMANY BOWS

As I read the proofs of this article Berlin dispatches carry the announcement of the arrival of a new coalition German Ministry and of a vote in the Reichstag which insures acceptance by Germany of the London terms within the period of the ultimatum. This means that the invasion of the Ruhr will be postponed, if not prevented. And despite the intrigues and maneuvering of recent days in German political circles, such an outcome has been practically certain, since Germany had no other choice.

It is essential, however, while recognizing the gain for world order and economic restoration of even a postponement of a fresh invasion of Germany to guard against exaggeration of the consequences of the German submission. One may recall that Mr. Micawber was accustomed, whenever he signed a new note, to say, "Thank God, that bill is

paid," and, after all, Germany has now done no more than sign a new note. Fulfillment, not promise, on the German side must be the real test of the present settlement. Moreover, French troops now mobilized will hardly quit the Rhine until Bavaria complies with the disarmament clauses of the ultimatum.

German submission is one more indication of the justice of the French contention that with Germany nothing can be accomplished save by the use of force. The explanation of German surrender must be found in French mobilization and nowhere else. Recognizing that we have escaped the gravest peril to world peace since the Paris Conference and that we may have reached the turning point in the whole peace adjustment, it is still necessary to wait and see how Germany performs before considering as settled a question for which a basis of reasonable settlement has been found.

RADIUM—THE METAL OF MYSTERY

HOW MADAME CURIE FOUND IT

BY NELL RAY CLARKE

[The accuracy of the statements made in this article is attested by Mr. W. H. Wadleigh, Acting Chief of the Radium Section, U. S. Bureau of Standards.—THE EDITOR]

AS a token of welcome to Madame Curie, the women of America have raised a fund to present to the most noted scientist of their sex a gram of the precious substance whose existence she and her late husband first proclaimed to the world.

Just what is radium? The man in the street has heard that doctors have faith that it will cure cancer. He knows that it causes the face of his watch and the numbers on his speedometer to glow in the dark, so that he can tell both the hour and the speed of his homeward journey. He has been told that its discovery disturbed many preconceived ideas of the energy in atoms and of the age of the earth, but he hardly realizes that with relation to the boundless possibilities of this new-found substance the scientist stands to-day at the same spot where the savage of the pre-Stone ages stood when he cringed in fear and wonder as he saw light-

ning set fire to dry wood—a process he was powerless to imitate.

Here is a substance in nature which, unlike anything we have known previously, has the ability of "going" by itself. It is giving out energy with relatively such slight exhaustion that, in proportion to its mass, it puts the sun and stars to shame. If, instead of being composed of helium, sodium, potassium, and other common substances which the spectroscope has revealed to us, the sun were composed of pure radium, we would have to be equipped with the finest quality of asbestos bodies to endure the resulting million per cent. increase in heat and light, and be encased in lead a foot thick to prevent total destruction of the tissues.

But mercifully, perhaps, the quantity of the precious substance in the universe and particularly in the earth's crust at the present time seems to be exceedingly small. The

total yearly output of the largest of the three or four companies in the world which are producing radium commercially is about an ounce, but even this is a quantity of vast importance when it is brought to mind that there are perhaps only seven ounces in existence and that a very reasonable market price per gram is \$100,000 to \$120,000, or \$3,402,000 an ounce. This is 200,000 times its weight in gold.

Tremendous Latent Energy

If the gram which is to be presented to Madame Curie could be persuaded to discharge in one minute all the energy it will eventually discharge in 20,000 years—its normal lifetime—we would have heat enough to raise thirty-two tons of water from the freezing point to the boiling point. No less a person than Sir William Ramsay said that, could we procure a ton of radium, its energy harnessed to human uses would drive a ship of 15,000 tons with engines of 15,000 horsepower at a speed of fifteen knots an hour continuously throughout thirty years. To-day in order to procure the energy for this undertaking it would require a million and a half tons of coal—a pyramid more than sixteen acres in extent and as high as the dome on the Capitol at Washington. Indeed this planet would become a dangerous place could an unscrupulous genius loose the power of the god of the pitchblende and carnotite.

This erstwhile plaything of science seems almost to hold itself aloof from the influences of the material world. It does not draw its energy from any source with which we are now familiar, nor does it apparently obey any of our known laws. It seems to feed upon some unquenchable fire within itself. The radioactivity of its particles is not altered by freezing to hundreds of degrees below zero or by the withering heat of a white-hot furnace, by intense electrical charges, by the action of powerful explosives, or by pressure or chemical reagents.

Radium has been a marvel at every turn the scientist has made. When it was first observed that it gave off enormous quantities of energy and did not disappear, that it burned and was not consumed, even the most sophisticated and prophetic of physicists considered it unbelievable. Even the great Lord Kelvin was moved to call it a sort of miracle. And yet its action does not upset our preconceived ideas of the law of the conservation of energy. Certainly it

loses all the energy it gives out, but it loses practically no weight. Its loss in weight is so small that it would take practically twenty thousand years for it to disintegrate.

Though radium is, so to speak, a practically unreckoned quantity in the field of chemical and physical research, it is gradually and surely pushing its way into the workaday world. That it might have powerful effects on the human body Professor Henri Becquerel, one of the earliest students of radioactive substances, learned to his sorrow. On a trip to London, where he was to give a lecture, he carried in his waistcoat pocket a small sealed tube containing a few milligrams of radium salt. It was a normal and natural way to take care of the tiny bit of the precious substance he was to lecture about and he made the journey safely, but after about two weeks the flesh beneath the pocket began to get red, then the skin fell away, and a deep and painful sore developed. So deep and clean had been the burn that it was several weeks in healing.

The Radium Treatment of Cancer

Though the use of radium for treatment of cancer—that curse of our country which sweeps away 90,000 persons a year—was not suggested until 1910, to-day physicians are employing it with increasing measure of success, particularly in those growths of an external nature that have not progressed to a critical stage. At the first successful results, in their enthusiasm some surgeons exclaimed that the long-sought cancer panacea had been found at last. Now, in the light of wider experience and calmer judgment, radium is considered an excellent team-mate of surgery. We know that its successful use requires as much skill and knowledge as does the knife. It is a medicine; not a "cure."

The Radium Institute of London and that of Paris under the direction of the Sorbonne have done valuable work, and several of the foremost physicians in America are making notable progress in its use. It has been found that certain of the rays given off have the faculty of destroying or dissolving diseased tissue and abnormal cells, healthy cells being only about one-fourth as susceptible to dissolution by the element. Even when the disease has progressed beyond the stage where a material cure can be hoped for, radium treatments often arrest the pain and discharge and generally relieve the sufferer.

New York State is at least enthusiastic about giving radium a thorough chance to

make an established reputation for itself along this line, for eight thousand of her population yearly die of cancer. In August, 1920, the State purchased for \$225,000 two and a quarter grams of radium for free treatment of cancer and allied malignant diseases. This, the largest single transaction in the metal ever recorded, furnishes the New York State Institute for Malignant Diseases in Buffalo enough of the wonder-working substance to treat about two million patients during the lifetime of this radium supply.

Radium Makes Other Substances Luminous

Despite the power of radium and its value, it has one other very practical use. Because of its ability to make other substances, such as zinc sulphide, glow in the dark, children's "Teddy bears" will soon have glistening eyes, the labels on poison bottles will shine out at night to warn us of danger, and the late returning householder will not necessarily have to chase his keyhole over the surface of his door. Several mining corporations have already adopted radium danger signals, and the radium-treated mariner's compass card is said to be unfailing in its visibility. A bit of radium is also being added to the tip of fishermen's hooks in place of live or artificial bait, in order that the stock of fish stories may have an ever-increasing freshness.

To these more or less minor uses there are to be added the use of radium on telegraph dials, airplane and ship instruments, locators for electric switches. At first it seems inconsistent that a substance which brings such an enormous market price and which is so difficult to procure could be used on a two-dollar watch dial, but the secret of it is that it is not the radium which is glowing but some substance which becomes luminous in its presence. One gram of radium—which is about one-twenty-eighth of an ounce—mixed with 20,000 grams of pure quality of zinc sulphide will make enough luminous material to put a shine on the expressionless faces of 667,000 watches.

It is supplied to the manufacturer in the form of a yellowish powder. In the factories it is mixed with an adhesive substance and applied with a fine camel's-hair brush to the face of the watches and clocks. The workers endeavor to place each little drop of the substance exactly where it belongs and not brush it, as the breaking down of the tiny zinc sulphide crystals would be destructive to the luminosity. Though the radium contained in it would practically

never give out, the zinc sulphide deteriorates under the bombardment of the radium particles, so experimenters have been at great pains to make the best possible quality of the sulphide and to obtain a mixture in exact proportions to produce the highest luminosity combined with the longest life for the least money. At the present time the luminosity of the coating is guaranteed for the life of the instrument.

The discovery of radioactivity seems to have been almost a direct outgrowth of the discovery by Professor Röntgen of the X-rays which traverse opaque objects and affect photographic plates. Scientific workers began to wonder if the same sort of rays were produced in other ways. They knew that certain substances glowed in the dark after having been exposed to the sunlight, so they began their experiments with these substances. Professor Becquerel, by mere chance, placed over his photographic plate wrapped in black paper a preparation of uranium which had been exposed to the sun. He found that the plate was affected and later that the rays would penetrate thin sheets of metal. One day, there being no sunlight, he tucked his light-tight photographic plate in a drawer together with his preparation and left it for a week or two. To his amazement, upon developing the plate, he found that the plate had been affected by the uranium which had not been exposed to the sun. The activity was due to some inherent properties of the uranium itself!

Mme. Curie's Epoch-Marking Discovery

About this time, Madame Marie Curie, an earnest young scientist of Polish descent, born and educated in Warsaw, was working in conjunction with her husband. While pursuing her studies in Paris, she took radioactivity as the subject of the thesis for her doctorate. The Austrian Government, impressed by the grasp of the question and the decided ability she showed, placed at her disposal the tailings of certain ores mined in that country from which the uranium had been extracted.

She had found out that some of the pitchblendes were several times more radioactive than the pure oxide of uranium, so she drew the perfectly natural conclusion that there must be some other substance in the pitchblende more radioactive than the uranium. She then set to work to separate the more powerfully radioactive parts. These she

found to be the bismuth and barium compounds. As these two elements are not radioactive of themselves, the elements mixed with them, she inferred, were the disturbers of scientists' peace of mind. The first of these she called Polonium after her native country and the second was radium, which proved to be several million times more radioactive than uranium. Thus she placed in the periodic table of elements two of the vagrants whose coming had been predicted, just as Neptune was sighted in the heavens long after its appearance had been foretold.

World's Chief Sources of Supply in Colorado and Utah

The pitchblende mines at Joachimsthal, formerly in Austria but now in northern Czechoslovakia, which at first furnished the supply of the precious metal, are practically exhausted, and the Australian deposits and those at Ferghana, Russian Turkestan, are not particularly productive. To-day the world's richest source of radium is to be found in the carnotite mines of Paradox Valley, Colorado, and neighboring regions of that State and southern Utah. From these easily mined deposits near the surface the ore must be hauled by six-horse wagons and the few valiant motor-trucks which brave the rugged roads fifty eight miles to the nearest railroad station. There it is loaded in freight cars, making its way through Denver and Chicago to be dumped at Pittsburgh and Orange, New Jersey, where it is reduced to a radium product in its commercial form, 450 tons yielding about two and a quarter grams—scarcely a teaspoonful.

The extraction of the radium salts from the ore is a very complicated process of elimination of undesirable substances. But there is nothing to mark it as individual except perhaps a refinement in its control. After each operation the resulting product is tested with electroscopes capable of detecting four ten-millionths of a gram of radium, but even with this meticulous care one-fifth of the precious metal is lost. Such a process is comparable to that by which billions of rose petals are made into one drop of real attar of roses.

The Electroscope

The electroscope, which is the Sherlock Holmes of radioactive materials, is a very simple device. Any small boy could make one for his own amusement. Two bits of

gold leaf are suspended in a bottle by a wire run through an insulated stopper. When the wire is charged with electricity from an outside battery, the two gold leaves fly apart. Then if a small bit of radium salt be brought within a foot or two of the instrument the leaves collapse.

The large electroscope used in the Bureau of Standards at Washington for testing all the specimens sent in is exactly the same in theory. One leaf is attached, however, and the other in moving toward it does so in front of a scale of inches. A stop watch records the actual time it takes the leaves to move over a given distance and thus the radioactivity can be compared with the radioactivity of the standard which the Bureau has had tested and compared with those used in Paris and Vienna.

The electroscope is able to detect the most minutely radioactive quality in minerals. It can "snoop" out quantities of radium in ores which it would be thoroughly impracticable to try to extract.

Emanations of Radium

Sir Ernest Rutherford made the first analysis of the complex radiations emitted by radium and classified them as the Alpha, Beta, and Gamma rays. The Alpha rays, which travel about 20,000 miles a second, are the least penetrating of the series and may be easily stopped by a few inches of air or by a thin sheet of paper; the Beta rays, which are ejected at a velocity of about 100,000 miles a second, will penetrate about one and a third inches of lead, and burn the flesh of the body searingly; the Gamma rays, which cannot be bent by the strongest magnetic forces, and one-tenth of one per cent. of which will pass through a foot of solid iron or through six inches of lead, travel with the speed of light. These last are the rays used in surgery.

The Spinthariscopes

And despite the rapidity with which these particles are given off, an instrument has been invented, the spinthariscopes, in which you can actually see the paths of the Alpha particles as they shoot out. Professor Rutherford and Dr. Geiger counted them, estimating that they are ejected at the rate of ten thousand million a grain each second.

The spinthariscopes is based on the use of the smallest possible amount of radium, which is, in fact, small enough to be unweighable and invisible. The little instru-

ment, which can be purchased at a very small sum, is composed of a brass cylinder across the bottom of which is placed a zinc sulphide screen. On one side near the base of the cylinder is inserted a triangular needle which has been made to touch a bottle which once contained radium bromide. The top of the cylinder is closed with a lens which magnifies the screen. If you look through the lens in a dark room tiny stars seem to be shooting from the needle point and darting helter-skelter over the screen. There are thousands of them and they never stop coming. You are seeing the luminous spots made on the screen by the Alpha particles as they strike. Your zinc sulphide screen may wear out and be replaced time and again, but the radium emanations seemingly never cease.

Transmutation of Metals

Long have alchemists worked for and philosophers dreamed of a way to transmute metals, and it was not until the sixteenth century that the idea was discarded. Today we know that the old idea was right in theory, though not in substance. In the spinthariscopes we are actually seeing the first stage of transmutation. The Alpha rays are more properly particles of the radium shooting off rather than just rays, and become helium, an entirely different non-radioactive element. The remaining product of the disintegration is scientifically termed an emanation.

Long before the nature of the Alpha particle was known, it was predicted that helium, previously discovered in the atmosphere of the sun, would be a product of the radioactive change in radium. The helium has so far given no evidence that it is changing further in any way, but the emanation undergoes nine successive transformations, and it is believed that the ultimate product of the transmutation is lead.

Madame Curie brought forward evidence to support her belief that uranium is the parent of radium. It coexists with radium wherever that element is found; it disintegrates several million times more slowly, and exists in a quantity several millions times greater than the quantity of radium. In fact, it has been found that for every part of radium there are always coexistent 3,200,000 parts of uranium, and that the life of uranium before it transmutes into radium is eight billion years.

Though this process is going on before us

and we are powerless to stop it, we are equally as powerless to effect a transmutation of a metal as we were in the days of old when the goldsmiths worked in caves and secret places to change lead and iron into precious metals. Surely future generations may, by means of the knowledge we have acquired of the changes of radium, solve the riddle—not for the sake of the products of the transmutations, but that the energy evolved may yield a magnitude of power merely dreamed of by us.

The study of the properties of radium and the evolution of the natural laws pertaining to it probably will increase our ideas of the period of time over which the laws of nature have operated. Although Rutherford is very careful to point out that "while the distribution of active matter in the earth is undoubtedly a very important factor in the origin and maintenance of the earth's internal heat, it does not supply any definite evidence of the age of the earth," he cites some very interesting experiments made by him in an effort to determine what effect the amount of radium in the earth's crust might have in maintaining the internal heat of the earth. Using as a basis the amount of heat emitted by a gram of radium, he calculated the amount of radium it would be necessary for the earth to contain uniformly throughout its volume in order to equalize the amount of heat lost each year by conduction to the surface of such a body as it gradually cools. In other words, he calculated the amount of radium necessary to keep the earth continually at the same temperature.

Then, of course, an estimate of the actual amount of radium in the earth's crust had to be made to see if the necessary amount was present. Tests were made of rocks found in representative portions of the crust, with the astounding result that the average amount of radium in rocks is nearly twenty times greater than that calculated by Rutherford as the required amount to keep the temperature gradient unaltered. This is the same as saying that if radium were distributed throughout the earth in the same proportion as it appears near the surface, the amount of heat generated by radioactive substances would be two hundred times as much as that lost by conduction. But since it is perfectly obvious that we are not getting hotter each year at this enormous rate, Professor Strutt has propounded the theory that radioactive matter is confined chiefly to the surface of the earth.

PROTECTING THE SMALL INVESTOR

BY SAMUEL SPRING

[The special interests of investors and business men who read the REVIEW OF REVIEWS are served in each issue by one or more articles on timely and useful subjects in this field. The following important suggestion for State safeguard against fraudulent promotions is one of this series, maintaining—after the war and under the new financial conditions—the continuity of the magazine's investment aid to its readers. Mr. Spring is a prominent member of the Boston bar, who served by appointment of Governor Coolidge on a Special Commission to Investigate the Sale of Corporate Securities. The legislation proposed by that commission has received favorable consideration in the Massachusetts legislature. Mr. Spring also served as special assistant attorney general for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the prosecution of the famous Ponzi swindle.—THE EDITOR]

HOW can America banish its hordes of fraudulent promoters, the assassins of thrift? They are the pirates of modern industry. In the last few years nearly half a billion dollars of fraudulent or worthless securities have been sold annually in the United States. America urgently requires new capital and popular investment banking is a paramount economic need to-day. Thrift and saving alone create capital. A thrifty worker is usually a happy worker but a worker who has lost his savings in a fraudulent enterprise, where he never had a chance, concludes that he might as well be thriftless. He also distrusts our Government, our national ideals, our economic system. He has been exploited and exploited men are dangerous men. The Government to-day, for its own security, owes the small investors protection from fraudulent promoters.

The startling aspect of the problem of fraudulent promotions is the shallowness and provincialism with which the problem has been approached in America. "Blue Sky" legislation has been opposed by our banking and investment classes as another unwarranted invasion by the State of the life of the citizen. "What, another commission?" is the impatient attitude with which efforts to regulate investments are received. It is none of the State's duty, the conservative usually concludes, to prevent a fool from parting with his money, for the task is impossible. Men should be made self-reliant and independent by allowing fraudulent promoters to rob them. Yet since the State itself makes fraudulent promotions possible and literally creates, protects and approves the machinery

by which frauds are perpetrated, such a conclusion is strikingly superficial.

Incorporation as an Aid to Fraud

In Europe, particularly in England, the problem has for a quarter of a century been met with marked intelligence. European bankers quickly perceived that the corporate form made speculation and fraudulent promotions possible. The creation of the modern capitalistic factory system, after the industrial revolution, required legal machinery whereby the capital of great numbers of individuals could be grouped together for a common investment. Artificial persons—corporations—created by the State were quickly utilized. Shares of stock could thus be issued and widely distributed representing units of ownership in a common enterprise with limited liability and the power of delegating complete control to trusted managers. No one cares to be an absentee and part owner of a partnership enterprise with unlimited liability on all the members. The pooling of capital, as Europe quickly discovered, is possible only with the free use of the corporate device. Abuses of the corporate form, however, whereby the State authorizes the issuance of unlimited fictitious stock, appeared in Europe as early as 1850.

The elementary and usual procedure in starting a new enterprise is to transfer property to a corporation in exchange for stock; the State does not undertake, so far as stockholders are concerned, to ascertain the value of the property transferred and allows an almost unlimited number of shares of stock, each having a fixed par or face value, usu-

ally one hundred dollars, to be issued for property often of little or no value. These shares of stock are the device used by promoters to defraud the public. Most intelligent investors know that the fact that a share of stock has a par value of one hundred dollars means nothing; yet those unskilled in finance accept the stock certificate—the device used—at its face value.

Bonus Stock

This truth is clearly shown by the promoting practice of issuing bonus stock. In organizing a corporation owning property equaling in value the total face value of the preferred stock, one share of preferred stock is worth fully as much to an investor as a share of preferred stock and a share of common stock together, since the common stock represents only good-will or water—in a word, nothing. Yet even eminent investing houses give away common stock as a bonus or "sweetener" with preferred stock or bonds, for the investor always considers two shares of stock as worth more than one and confuses par value with actual value. All bonus stock is not fraudulent, but bonus stock is usually meaningless. The use of bonus stock is one of the outstanding features of industrial finance; and this fact shows the persuasive powers that shares of stock of no actual value, but with a par value in ornate type, have with even the intelligent investor.

The State's Part in Stock Transactions

The fact that fictitious and worthless stock, with this fixed face value, is issued and approved without discrimination by the State for the use of both honest and fraudulent promoters means that the State makes fraud possible and even participates therein. The uninformed investor accepts such stock as carrying with it the State's guarantee that the certificate represents property equaling its face value. Without this corporate device, or an equivalent trust form created by the courts, fraudulent promotion of securities would be impossible. And this truth is the heart of the problem of fraudulent promotions. "Would the great State of New York issue fraudulent stock?" is the dishonest salesman's reiterated argument. "I'm offering you the stock of a Massachusetts corporation. Have faith in Massachusetts," is the common plea of fraudulent salesmen in Calvin Coolidge's home State.

European jurists and bankers quickly grasped the danger arising from indiscriminate

stock issues and acted accordingly. They did not, in a shallow way, complain that the question was whether the State should regulate a private function. In America this basic fact has not yet been fully understood. A federal Judge, however, recently in sentencing a fraudulent promoter, stated this truth when he said, "The State of Delaware would face an indictment for licensing such corporations as this if I could summon a sovereign State into court."

To prevent the sale of fraudulent securities, France and Germany, after the problem had been considered by several joint stock company conventions beginning in 1876, provided by law for full publicity as to all promoting profits and commissions as part of the act of incorporation. In addition, all the authorized stock of a corporation in France and Germany must be subscribed for and at least one-fourth of the face value must be actually paid up in cash to the corporation before power is granted to do business. Thus little fictitious stock is issued. In addition, in Germany, Chambers of Commerce, under the law, must admit and approve the accounts of the corporation before corporate powers are granted, as a check upon fraudulent promotion or selling commissions.

England in 1900, after six separate committees beginning in 1895 had exhaustively examined the problem, attempted to put a check by legislation upon promotion and selling commissions similar to that of Germany; in 1906 this method was abandoned as unsuccessful and the policy of full publicity was adopted. A promoter or seller of securities in England must reveal in his prospectus, as part of the act of incorporation, complete information as to the cost of property conveyed to the corporation, the assets and earnings of the company, allotments of stock and promotion and selling profits. Thus the promoter's secrets are everybody's business. This restraint upon the sale of securities in England has worked successfully and speculation in England is remarkably free from fraud.

"Blue-Sky" Laws

In America the illogical theory of complete non-interference by the State in the sale of securities the State itself created prevailed until 1911. The frauds of "blue-sky merchants," who, it was said, sold their victims stock certificates representing sections of the blue sky, grew so gross in the agricul-

tural States that the farmers of Kansas finally revolted. Even to-day in the Middle West an almost religious fervor manifests itself in all discussions of blue-sky legislation. In apparent ignorance of the fundamental evil involved in fictitious stock and seemingly unaware of the legislation and discussion in Europe, Kansas adopted unwise and radical legislation. Mr. J. N. Dolley, the Bank Commissioner of Kansas, proposed legislation which made him the guardian of all Kansas investments. No security could be sold in Kansas until a charter board, holding supreme power, determined that it was sound. Further than that he set out to classify investments as to the degree of soundness distinguishing between speculative and investment securities. He also carried on newspaper propaganda with startling effect in the United States as to the success of the Kansas method. Manitoba, Canada, immediately adopted the Kansas act or similar legislation; thirty-three States have enacted various types of blue-sky legislation.

Instead of merely trying to prevent the fraudulent use of symbols of investment created by the State, the Kansas style of legislation attempts to make the State the adviser to the people in investments. Paternalism is thus frankly established. As was natural, this legislation was attacked at once in the courts as unconstitutional. Six decisions were delivered by different lower Federal Courts holding various types of blue-sky legislation null and void. Then the Supreme Court of the United States in a sweeping decision reversed the lower courts and held the legislation constitutional. The liberality of the Supreme Court in so doing is significant.

For several years the Kansas act was not effectively enforced. Out of sixteen hundred applications made in two years, something like forty-nine permits were granted and sixty-three applications refused. The remaining applications were evidently not acted upon. Yet, so widely were the stringent provisions of the Kansas act advertised that fraudulent promoters gave Kansas a wide birth and the threat involved was highly effective. To-day blue-sky acts are more effectively enforced, and although no legislation can prevent all fraud, they have unquestionably been markedly helpful wherever they are in force. Some types of blue-sky legislation oppress legitimate investment business; the larger investment States, in fear of the burdens of the indiscriminate

legislation, have not yet adopted blue-sky legislation.

Obviously the scope of much blue-sky legislation is too ambitious. Speculation, if honest, cannot and should not be stamped out. The State cannot advise its citizens as to investments and select securities for them to buy. Long before Kansas adopted its blue-sky act, it is true, the wealthier classes were protected from fraud by the regulations as to listing securities on reputable stock exchanges and the services of careful investment houses. The poor, since they buy only a share or two, are at present profitable business only for piratical houses and receive no aid whatsoever. But even for the poor the State cannot act as an investment broker; it can, however, and should prevent fraudulent promotions.

The English method of enforced publicity, although the soundest method suggested, as well as the Continental method of preventing the issuance of fraudulent securities on incorporation, cannot be adopted in America. We have forty-eight separate sovereignties; unless all the States act, such legislation is ineffective and unfair as to those States which do act. If New York puts a check upon the fraudulent issuance of stock, the only result is that promoters will organize corporations and pay the fees in another State. If Pennsylvania provides for full publicity as to promoters' profits while New York and Massachusetts do nothing, it means that Pennsylvania will lose much of its underwriting finance. It has been urged that the Federal Government should act and the Taylor Bill, introduced in Congress, adopts the English procedure. Yet it seems clear that Congress has no power, even under the Commerce Clause, to regulate the investment activities of the States. The recent decision of the Supreme Court in the child-labor case seems decisive of that issue. Even if Congress has power, Congressional legislation would at once render null and void all State blue-sky legislation. Such concentration of power in Washington is clearly undesirable.

Licensing of Securities Should Be Required

The States can and should check fraudulent promotions in the only way possible in America, by requiring that no securities (other than governmental issues, banking and public utility stock and all securities that are already examined by public authorities before they can be sold) shall be sold to the

public until the vendor and the security have both been licensed. The licensing official should have power solely to exclude fraudulent securities, *i. e.*, securities involving misrepresentation or concealment of essential facts, or fictitious and watered stock representing exorbitant promotion or selling profits. Grossly fictitious or fraudulent stock alone should be excluded and to people's banks, coöperative societies, public education and the press should be left the task of educating small investors to distinguish between speculative and investment securities. No law can draw the dividing line in matters of this kind.

But there has been, in the last two or three years, a tendency in America to find an easy, theoretical solution of the problem which furnishes a cheerful looking statute but is well-nigh futile in operation. Some investment bankers, impatient of restraint or the slight inconveniences of sound regulations, are favoring fraud acts which empower a State official, in the case of a suspicious security, to prohibit the sale of such security and require information as to its freedom from fraud. Such legislation in an exceptional case would be helpful; but in its practical operation such a statute is merely a gesture and a threat. How can any State official, without information, pick out among the great mass of securities those which are suspicious and may prove fraudulent? He is given a broad power but its use is so severely restricted by the lack of information that he is helpless. He is asked to suspect and select without information as to each security sold. A fraud act can be made effective only with a wide system of espionage which is obviously expensive and intolerable.

Pass Upon Securities at the Source!

The vital feature of the regulation of the sale of fraudulent securities lies in the examination of the individual securities falling within the unregulated classes. Unlisted mining stocks, the securities of new enterprises not as yet making any profit, should not be sold until they have been checked over to see if they contain so much water as to be fraudulent. Registering dealers so that the fraudulent dealer can be eliminated is helpful; but merely registering dealers and giving officials power to stop the sale of fraudulent securities is unsound and unworkable legislation. The vital and con-

trolling feature is the security sold; it must be passed upon at the source. The burden of supplying information must be placed upon those who issue and sell securities. The only effective method of meeting the problem is an approximation of the European method—each security not already under control, before sold, must be passed upon by a State official to ascertain if the security is fraudulent. Full information as to the value behind the security must be submitted and upon that information the absence of fraud must be determined.

The Western legislation, though it goes much too far in tending to make the standard soundness of value instead of fraud, and in trying to pass upon too large a class of securities, is nevertheless fundamentally correct in passing upon the security sold. Any other method of meeting the situation is futile. Unless certain securities are examined before they are sold, fraudulent securities to a marked degree will be forced into the hands of the public. The barn door should not be locked after the horse is stolen.

The urgent reason for checking up securities before they are sold is the fact that securities to-day are not sold to the small investor, but forced upon him. Most sales of securities in small amounts are forced sales. The purchaser is solicited at his home or place of work or lodge by a vigorous, dexterous salesman, carefully schooled in the art of selling, who uses appeals to religious and racial and class instincts even more than he does to the detailed value of the investment. Shrewd advertisements have a tremendous effect upon the ignorant. Buyers have to be strong minded and strong willed indeed to escape.

Legislation prohibiting fraudulent securities is a necessary regulation of the machinery created by the State for investment banking. The State creates, sanctions and, in substance, issues the fraudulent stock now being sold. The State must, by proper regulation, protect its citizens from this abuse of investment banking machinery just as the State, by its bank examiners, protects depositors from the fraudulent use of legally established machinery for discount and savings banking. If this is done, our modern banking system will cease to be a class privilege and will become a genuinely national institution. Then thrift, so encouraged, will become a national strength rather than a national weakness.

IS A BUSINESS REVIVAL IN SIGHT?

BY DAVID FRIDAY

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Michigan)

IN December and January last there were a number of prophecies to the effect that the late spring and early summer of 1921 would witness a business revival in this country. These prophecies commonly asserted that by May prices would be re-adjusted to a lower level, the "buyers' strike" would be over, and business would once more resume its normal course. These predictions can now be subjected to a critical appraisal.

If those who predicted a recurrence of prosperity and of normal business in the late spring intended to convey the impression that we would see a resumption of such business activity as we had during the five years 1916-1920, inclusive, their prophecies have miscarried. There is not now, and there probably will not be for several years to come, any such floodtide of production, profits, and wages, or any such expansion of bank credit and of banking profits as we witnessed during that half decade.

The technical changes in the industrial situation which are the necessary foundation of business revival have in large measure taken place. The banking situation, the general level of prices, and the efficiency of labor have all been pretty thoroughly readjusted to a new basis which permits of a resumption of normal business activity. A year ago the ratio of gold and other lawful reserve money to deposits and notes outstanding held by the Federal Reserve banks was less than 42 per cent., if we employ the method of calculation which the Federal Reserve Board now uses. At present that ratio is over 55 per cent. This improvement in the technical banking situation has already resulted in a lower rediscount rate which the Federal Reserve banks charge their member banks. A reserve bank ratio of 42 per cent. was an unmistakable sign of the business depression which threatened. This was the more true when certain other factors in the banking situation were taken into the reckoning. In May,

1919, the reserve ratio was about 52 per cent. During the succeeding year the loans and discounts of the banks of the United States expanded at an amazing rate. On June 30, 1920, they were six billion dollars larger than on the corresponding date of the previous year.

Such a rapid increase in the nation's purchasing power is always a signal that danger lies close ahead. Students of the situation discerned other and more immediate signals. The New York Clearing House banks, which consist of practically all the large and powerful banking institutions in the nation's financial center, had ceased expanding their loans late in the autumn of 1919. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York had even a lower reserve ratio than the other Reserve banks.

The New York money market was tight, and the stock market had repeated periods of liquidation during the spring of 1920. To anyone acquainted with the course of events preceding the panic of 1907 and our other panics, this state of banking affairs was an unmistakable precursor of coming depression. The banks of the interior cities continued to expand their loans for some months, just as they had done before in similar situations. It was easy to play the part of the prophet, therefore, in May, 1920. The banking situation alone gave unmistakable signs that the boom period was soon to end.

To-day the loans of the banking system of the country have been contracted by more than 10 per cent. The deposits have been contracted by more than 15 per cent. The Federal Reserve notes outstanding, which constitute the great mass of the pocket-money carried by the people, have contracted by 16 per cent. As the deposits of the member banks shrank, the reserves which they were required to keep with the Federal Reserve Bank decreased. This decline, together with the shrinkage of the Federal Reserve notes, reduced the volume of liabilities against which the Federal Reserve was required to

keep gold and other lawful money, and thus reduced the reserve requirements.

In the twelve months previous to June, 1920, our banking system had lost almost \$400,000,000 of gold through export. Since last June we have regained by import all the gold which we lost, and have acquired some in addition. As a result of these changes our banking situation to-day is the reverse of that which preceded the depression. The banker's index to loaning ability is the reserve ratio. With loans much decreased, the system finds itself with a liberal ratio of gold and other lawful money to deposits and notes. It is in a technical position, therefore, to furnish the loans needed to support business activity at the new price level.

This is still far from saying that the banks will actually expand their loans. That depends upon the demand of customers who can offer good security. Bankers make profits by loaning funds; they are, therefore, anxious to loan whenever the position of their reserves permits them to do so and when the security which their customers are offering is ample. It is not clear that the demand for loans, even at moderate rates of interest, will be active enough to increase materially the volume of credit outstanding.

The price level was another portent of trouble in the industrial situation of a year ago. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics index number of wholesale prices, the peak came in May, 1920. In that month they stood at 272 per cent. of the prices of 1913. Since then the level has declined until in March of this year it was 162. It would not be surprising if the statistics for May showed prices close to 150 per cent. of those of 1913. The extreme rise of prices had shaken the public confidence in their future level and produced the "buyers' strike," which was the real crux of the business depression. The fall in prices has been pronounced enough to bring a considerable revival of purchases in the field of retail trade. The public is buying the things which it needs to consume in order to maintain its ordinary standard of living, as freely as its purchasing power permits. The revival seems to be pretty thoroughgoing as regards demand for the ordinary things which we consume from day to day and from month to month. Food, clothing, boots, and shoes are being bought freely. The department stores in March and April showed a large volume of sales. Stocks of goods have been pretty well exhausted and the manufacturers

of all these commodities have a substantial volume of orders. This phase of our industry has revived, until its condition to-day is rapidly approaching normal.

With the resumption of buying in these lines we shall have a substantial volume of employment and a continuation of the orderly processes of production and selling in this portion of the industrial field. The figures of employment show marked improvement in March and April over the previous months. The earnings of the laborers actually employed are slightly larger than they were before. There is universal agreement among employers that the efficiency of labor has increased in a marked degree. We have, therefore, a new industrial cycle established upon a higher level of productive activity with lower costs of production and lower prices. We may reasonably expect this phase of our industrial life to go forward in a normal manner at a level of prices and wages not far different from the present one.

But the demand for products in other fields as yet shows small sign of revival. There is as yet no great activity in the production of durable goods like houses which are used to satisfy the immediate wants of the people, or for production of goods like office and factory buildings, machines, steel rails, and all those things that are needed to expand the permanent wealth of the community. While the general level has fallen, individual groups of prices are as badly out of balance as they were a year ago. This appears clearly in the following comparison of the different groups which make up the Bureau of Labor index number:

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX NUMBER (1913=100)

Group	May 1920	March 1921
Farm products	244	125
Food, etc.	287	150
Clothes and clothing.....	347	192
Fuel and lighting.....	235	207
Metals and metal products.....	193	139
Building materials	341	212
Chemicals and drugs.....	215	171
House furnishings	339	275
Miscellaneous	246	167
All commodities.....	272	162

In the case of long-lived things like houses, the public is still suspicious of the future price level. Building materials in March were at 212 per cent. of the 1913 level, while the total cost of building was about two and one-half times that of the pre-war period. This situation, as regards building, is due in considerable measure to the attitude of

building labor. Neither the reduction in wage scales nor the increase in efficiency in this field is as yet sufficient to bring the cost of building operations into conformity with the general price level. The general public is still doubtful whether the present level of prices will continue over any long period of years. General opinion, no doubt, is to the effect that we will see a gradual decline. While that doubt will not interfere greatly with the purchase of commodities which are to be consumed in periods stretching over weeks or months, it is a more serious deterrent in the case of commodities like houses which last from twenty-five to fifty years and which are frequently resold. As long as the price of building remains above the general level people will be disinclined to undertake building operations at a cost two and one-half times as high as that which prevailed eight years ago, and fully 30 per cent. higher than the present general level of prices.

The demand for things like structural steel, copper and all those partly finished and finished commodities which are used for the construction of manufacturing, mining and public-utility plants is also influenced by this lack of confidence in the stability of the present prices for these commodities. But here a new factor enters into the calculation. Men construct office-buildings, manufacturing plants, mines, and public utilities, not with a view to consuming them, and usually without any intention of selling them. They are constructed for the purpose of producing goods or services which can be sold at a price exceeding their cost. In other words, they are constructed with a view to making profits from their use. It is just here that the situation to-day is not propitious for business revival. The uncertainty concerning future prices, the demand for goods, and, most important of all, concerning the future of profits, is the greatest obstacle to a complete resumption of industrial activity at this time.

One industry has witnessed a complete revival of productive activity. The predictions of those who asserted that farm acreage would be large this year owing to the abundant supply of labor have been realized in full. If weather conditions are favorable we shall have a large volume of farm products to transport, manufacture and consume.

The chief difficulty in appraising the situation at this time arises out of the lack of accurate statistical information concerning the productive activities of the country, the size of payrolls, and the stocks on hand. All

the goods produced are used either for purposes of consumption in maintaining our customary standard of living or for the purpose of increasing our tangible national wealth. If goods are not used for either of these purposes then they must be exported for credit.

The volume of production for purposes of current consumption does not fluctuate greatly except during such temporary buyers' strikes as we have witnessed in the last nine months. This stoppage of demand on the part of the public soon passes. Already we have witnessed the resumption of purchase and production for this class of commodities. But the production of goods which are durable and which increase the wealth of the nation revives less rapidly. Lack of confidence in the future price level has impeded it seriously thus far. The prospect of inadequate profits will prevent the revival of production in these lines for some time to come. Not until business promises adequate profits will industries like copper, iron and steel revive.

Production for export on credit depends for its revival upon the soundness of the security which other nations can offer us. So far, there is nothing in the political sense which the European nations display in the conduct of their internal affairs which encourages our investors to furnish credit.

Until we get sense enough to attack the problem of maintaining productive output by positive interference and aid, we shall have to wait until fortuitous circumstances revive the demand for goods for the expansion of our national wealth. It seems likely now that building labor and the prices of building materials will adjust themselves in a few months so that building activities can absorb a considerable portion of the nation's labor and other productive resources which are now idle. The outlook for the construction of new plant facilities is less favorable for the immediate future. The European situation is altogether uncertain and promises no relief at an early date. But with more than six million farms actively at work bringing forth a volume of product which will approximate \$15,000,000,000 in value for the year, and with the greatest consuming public in the world demanding goods to maintain their high standard of living and to improve the standard of housing, we may expect a substantial degree of prosperity for the next year. Profits will not be as large as they were during war time, but they will not be as small as they were before 1915.

SQUANDERING OUR CAPITAL OF MECHANICAL POWER

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

[This is the second in a series of three articles by Mr. Lanier, in which he discusses factors of national waste which ought to be and can be remedied. In the March REVIEW he pointed out the vast waste brought about through ill health, and outlined measures which might be adopted if the nation declared war against preventable disease. In this present article the author treats of our wasteful method of producing mechanical power; and in a later contribution he will discuss losses arising from our system of distributing goods.—THE EDITOR]

"The story of coal is a story of waste, all the way from the face of the mine-working to the smokestacks of the boiler-plant—waste of a national resource, waste of human endeavor, waste of capital, waste of transportation capacity, and waste of energy."—George Otis Smith, Director U. S. Geological Survey.

MILLIONS of dollars are lost daily in wastes of mechanical power; and every dollar of fuel-energy waste comes out of capital. How shall we classify the business intelligence of a nation which, facing an unprecedented expense budget, permits such sums to be burned up—to produce manufacturing troubles, community nuisances, and business and transportation congestion?

Our whole material civilization is based on natural power. The clothes you wear, the food you eat, the motor, trolley, train, subway that brings you to your work—the whole structure of your daily life is built upon a plentiful supply of reasonably cheap power. To-day that means coal.

"Coal is the shortest word we have to express industrial power and domestic comfort." Without it most of our homes would be uninhabitable for half the year; most of our workers would be idle and hungry.

When the cave-man discovered how to make fire, he found the key which would unlock the treasure chest nature had hidden in the earth. He was a long time indeed in finding the chest itself, and in opening it. Certainly for tens of thousands of years after he took this momentous first step upward from shivering savagery, he did not even dream that he had gained a talisman commanding mightier jinn than were ever imagined by Eastern romancers.

Somewhere back in hazy antiquity our ancestors did stumble upon the fact that there were "stones" which would burn. Theo-

phrastus, successor of Aristotle, describes in his treatise "On Stones" an earthy substance which would kindle and burn and was used by smiths. A thousand years later we find an Anglo-Saxon word in a grant of lands by the Abbey of Peterboro which seems to mean earth coal (charcoal was also usually called simply "cole"). In 1239 the King of England granted a license to Newcastle to dig for coals, and early in the next century Edward I, at the petition of Parliament, prohibited its use in London because of "the sulferous smoke and savour of the firing." Only seven years before our Revolution, though wood was scarce and costly in Paris, the city forbade the use of coal shipped there from England.

Then came Watt's first steam engine in 1780. (This, too, at least seventeen centuries after Hero of Alexandria had put on paper a practicable design for making steam do useful work!) The first power loom followed in 1787; the first American steam mill was built early in the 19th century; and the Age of Steam gathered momentum rapidly. Whereas in 1822 the United States produced less than 50,000 tons of coal, and in 1868 the output of Great Britain was three and a half times as large as ours, we are now using about 2,000,000 tons a day, or nearly as much as all the rest of the world produces.

How Coal Is Wasted

No doubt about our having found the treasure chest! But let us see what we are doing with its contents. I must warn you that "Coal-Oil Johnny," with all his puerile extravagances along the Broadway of a generation ago, was sober and thrifty compared with our record in this matter. It is a good time, however, to look the truth in the face. We can no longer plead ignorance; for sixty

years now engineers have been accumulating exact formulas and data as to the amount of work produced by a given process for each unit of energy supplied. Every alert mechanical engineer to-day knows the facts, and plenty of them realize, and are proclaiming, the large significance of those facts to the nation and to each individual.

The United States is taking out of its power bank this year some 700,000,000 tons of coal—one hundred anthracite, six hundred bituminous. This is 50 per cent. more than in 1910, three times as much as in 1900, six times as much as in 1890, fifteen times as much as in 1880.

The Geological Survey has charted our actual uses of coal. Of each 1000 tons:

350 go to industries (250 to produce steam),
250 keep our railroads running,
165 are burned for home cooking and heating,
130 are turned into coke,
60 go abroad for export and into bunkers,
35 are consumed in mining operations,
10 produce gas for light, cooking and power.

To mine these 700,000,000 tons requires the work of an army of nearly 800,000 men (and, incidentally, the death of 2500 each year); to transport them uses up a third of the total freight capacity of our railroads.

And on the average, our existing methods of mining and using this prime necessity actually secure in mechanical energy a small fraction of what there was in the coal "in place" as nature left it.

That is to say, by average practise we lose out of each ton of 2000 pounds:

	Lbs.
In mining	600
In transporting	80
In gases going up the stack	446
By radiation	51
In the ash pit	51
In converting heat energy into mechanical energy	650

A Campaign for Reform

Note simply two facts: That by the best practice the loss in mining is only 100 pounds, instead of 600; that the average steam plant uses eight times as much coal as the best-run large ones do, to accomplish the same result. The possibilities of applying a little common sense on a large scale now begin to open up.

Mr. Walter N. Polakov, consulting engineer, who is chairman of the committee on service and information, of the fuels section of American Society of Mechanical Engineers, has started a campaign for saving these

incredible wastes. He figures that the loss which could be prevented, in our present state of technical knowledge, amounts to *six billion* dollars a year.

Even without what is most needed—a complete change in our mental attitude toward fuel-energy—the possibilities of mere routine application of good practice are imposing.

Take that 350 tons out of each 1000 which keeps our industries going. "My job, day by day," said Mr. Polakov, "is to cut that consumption for a given plant from a quarter to a half, merely by stopping waste, by doing the thing right instead of wrong." This is more comprehensible to the layman when he realizes how basically inefficient an agent steam is for transforming fuel energy into available working power.

The engineer measures the working power of a fuel by what he calls "British thermal units" B.t.u.'s—this unit being the amount of heat that will raise one pound of water one degree at 60° Fahrenheit. "Hard" coal contains from 12,800 to 13,100 B.t.u.'s, soft coal from 10,500 to 15,200, dry wood from 8000 to 9000. Now even in the most up-to-date power plant, like that of one of the great public service corporations, with mechanical stokers, and modern engines, and economizers to use the heat going up the flue, and feed-water heaters utilizing a part of the exhaust steam—nearly nine-tenths of the heat-units in a pound of coal are lost.

By the very nature of the steam system over half the potential working power has gone into exhaust steam alone, and another net one-sixth up the stack. We get for use in horse-power, or in kilowatt hours, a theoretical 3412 units out of 15,000; and in actual practice we spend well over 30,000 B.t.u.'s. This, mind you, is the best; the *average* steam power plant throughout the country is a small affair, under 200 horse-power, which uses *eight times* as much coal to produce one available horse-power as does such a great central station. Fortunately there is one big saving factor here: the large proportion of factories where the steam plant really produces steam for other purposes than that of power, the exhausts serving for heating and for all sorts of manufacturing processes.

On the other hand, these huge central power and light stations, say, in New York City, where technical experts have lavished all their skill to reach a test efficiency of 15 per cent., are pumping out into the air or the river, exhaust steam containing a formi-

dable part of the heat units in the fuel consumed—while in another section of the city a steam power plant is turning a fraction of coal energy into the same sort of steam and sending it all around for steam and power!

"If those electrical power plants would run one non-condensing turbine in three, they could do everything the steam power plants do—as a by-product," declares Mr. Polakov. Clearly, there is a need of something beyond even the application of good technical practice in using fuel—badly as that is needed. Yet the Fuel Administration and the engineering experts tell us we could save a hundred million tons right here by adopting correct methods of firing and power generation.

The Wasteful Locomotive and Kitchen Stove

The situation with the railroads is far worse than in industry. This might be expected when we consider that each locomotive must be in itself a complete steam power plant, capable of dragging fifty cars each with fifty tons of coal at high speed—and we still have only 50,000 miles of electric railroad against five times that amount of steam lines.

The large steam turbine gives an indicated horse-power per hour for thirteen pounds of steam. (In tests with superheated steam it has been produced as low as nine to ten pounds.) The locomotive engine takes thirty-five. In point of fact, the average locomotive gets in power about 5 per cent. of the value of the coal. There is probably a preventable loss of at least another 122 million tons of coal here.

Worst of all, the engineers say, so far as percentages go, is the waste in the home of coal used for cooking and heating. Here we have millions of individual small plants handled by stokers with no idea of correct methods—with the result that some 98 out of every 100 heat units serve no useful purpose. (I fancy the "wasteful" farm homes, which burn a hundred million cords of wood annually for fuel, really do better than that!) Indeed, as is the case all through, the waste is not only a loss—it does harm, in many ways.

Let us glance next at the coke, which represents 130 out of the 1000 tons under consideration. Making coke involves highly technical processes, a recognition of what coal really is; and still it has taken a quarter of a century for the product from the economical by-product ovens even to equal in

quantity that of the old-fashioned beehive process—though the savings by the newer method are enormous. Moreover, we have just developed a low-temperature distillation of coal by which, in a plant using fifty tons a day and operating continuously, the by-products have a net value sufficient to pay for the coal, while giving enough heat units to carry on the work of the plant.

Valuable By-Products of Coal

This brings us to the really fundamental point of view which can alone result in applying common sense to the whole problem. In many cases, to burn coal as it is mined for the purpose desired is on a par with Lamb's Chinaman who burnt up his house and all its contents to get a roast pig.

What we need to realize is: *First*, that the consumer pays for these wastes—and that he is destined to pay much more if they continue, since that means rising fuel prices at an increasing rate.

Second, that it is highly unintelligent to think of coal as black lumps of concentrated energy which must be carried to the spot where heat or power is needed and there burned. It is that; but it is infinitely more. And we are far enough along in the age of electricity to know that in the majority of cases it ought not to be transported in its original form.

Even considered merely as concentrated energy, we have learned that there is a vast variation in different kinds of coal—in fact that there is a long series of vegetable product fuels, from wood (which has almost as much hydrogen and oxygen as carbon) through peat, lignite, bituminous coal, steam coal, up to the densest anthracite (nearly all carbon). And we have learned that it pays to study the individuality and proper method of use even for each variety of anthracite.

Far more important, coal is really a prize package containing, besides energy, the materials for at least a thousand commercial products used by the community. By most of our methods we are simply throwing away these invaluable by-products—ammonium sulphate, a fertilizer; benzol, a fuel and the source of naphthalene and toluol; tar for roads and roofs, and producing an ever-increasing list of dyes, color lakes, drugs, flavors, perfumes, resins, explosives, tanning extracts, and what not.

In 1918 the price of one ton of bituminous coal at the mine was \$1.32; yet it has been estimated that the multiple products of the

same ton of coal would have had a collective value of at least \$16.

As every far-seeing technical expert points out, we have got to look forward to "multiple production"; that is, getting out of coal some reasonable proportion of what it contains that we need.

It need hardly be pointed out that this means saving at both ends, for these by-products are a nuisance and a menace to health when they are poured over the community in smoke, cinders, and gas. By the newly worked out method of distillation of coal at low temperature we can produce coke equal to that from beehive ovens, while saving these needed products; or we can get almost as much in the way of by-products and have for household heating and cooking an artificial anthracite which is dustless, smokeless, odorless, leaves no clinkers, and has far higher heat efficiency in the home furnace. Or the coal can be gasified in producers and converted into gas, tar, and ammonium sulphate—the gas having nearly two-thirds of the heat units in the coal, with greater efficiency under boilers, smokeless, capable of being piped 200 miles economically. Besides, ammonium sulphate with an average value of \$3 per ton of coal would be obtained.

Central Power and Heating Plants

As Mr. Polakov points out, a city could erect a plant which would recover these by-products and provide industrial power, heat, and household fuel with vast saving of money, lessening of terminal and even main-line freight congestion, and virtual elimination of smoke and gas nuisances which now afflict us. When one reads in the newspaper of an American city which, because of the scarcity and high price of coal, is seriously contemplating taking over and operating a mine, such a development does not seem far distant. In one form or another, the handling of the power and heat problems of a region as a unit is bound to come.

In point of fact, a very ambitious project of this sort has recently taken concrete form.

Mr. William S. Murray, an eminent engineer, was in charge of the electrification of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and then supervised the electric features of its operation from 1905 to 1914. He became more and more impressed by the basic facts that "power in the form of coal is maximum in bulk and minimum in efficiency; in the form of electricity it is minimum in bulk and maximum in efficiency";

that power demands were increasing with almost unbelievable rapidity; and that an impressive proportion of our power waste is due to chaotic individualism in production instead of planning for the whole community.

After enlisting in his project the four great founder societies—the American Institutes of Mechanical, Electrical, Mining, and Civil Engineers—he appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives in April, 1920, as one of a committee of four to urge a Federal appropriation for a Super-Power Survey. Congress subsequently appropriated \$125,000 for this work, which is now being carried on under the supervision of a commission consisting of the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the United States Geological Survey, Mr. Murray himself as chief of the engineering staff, representatives of the great railroad systems and industries in the region affected, and a long list of technical experts.

One Power System for 60,000 Square Miles

The central idea of this plan is to create a comprehensive power system for all industries and railroads in the territory from Boston to Washington and inland from the coast 150 miles—which takes in Troy, Albany, the hard-coal fields around Scranton, and the soft-coal fields to the south. This block of 60,000 square miles comprises less than 2 per cent. of the area of the United States, yet something like a third of the power demand centers there. It contains a total machine capacity of 17,000,000 horse-power, 10,000,000 for industries and 7,000,000 for railroads.

Now, the modern measure of successful operation is what engineers term "load factor"—the ratio of the average load (work actually performed) to the maximum of which the installation is capable. The load factor of the steam locomotive is under 10 per cent.; the great central stations are below 35; in the zone of the Super-Power Survey the average is about 15 per cent.

By installing at strategic tidewater points high-powered, high-economy steam and hydro-electric stations (probably one great water power plant on the Susquehanna, another on the Delaware—possibly also on the St. Lawrence and in the Adirondacks), with steam stations at the mouth of mines, all connected into one transmission system which would use also the large central stations now existing in the great cities—there would be produced a logical system to deliver the power needed in this region.

From Mr. Murray's experience on the New Haven Railroad (where he saw opportunities to secure a 75 per cent. efficiency) he is convinced that the load factor would be raised from 15 per cent. to 50—which means that one horse-power will do the work of three former ones, or the amount of coal used will be cut in half.

This implies a direct saving of coal worth \$150,000,000 a year, and as much more from the economy of electrical maintenance as compared with steam. Electric installations to-day in this zone are developing half of the ten million horse-power used for industries, and the steady replacement of steam by electric drive is bound to continue.

Since investigation shows that the power requirement is going to be *double* the present demand in five years, the plan is clearly not for the remote future but for a present which will be upon us by the time it can be carried out. It is estimated that this million dollars a day can be saved by an investment which will return 24 per cent. on the capital.

It should be noted, too, that these figures of savings are not only pronounced conservative by other authorities, but that they take no account of one large item, the saving of by-products possible in the proposed large steam-power plants located at the mines. Such plants would offer an ideal opportunity for multiple production; and since a ton of coal may be said to be made up of 1440 pounds of coke, 10,000 cubic feet of gas, twenty-two pounds of ammonium sulphate, two and one-half gallons of benzol, and nine gallons of tar—whose total value is perhaps fourteen times that of the coal—the saving here might well be made to vie with the main one.

Gas as an Ideal Fuel

Yet this super-power scheme apparently fails to consider the vital factor of industrial and domestic heating. If we continue to generate power at the super-power plants in the condensing engines and turbines, up to 90 per cent. of heat from coal will be lost to the clouds and down the river. The crea-

tion of super-fuel-gas stations will prove equally important and as necessary as the super-power stations.

In these super-fuel stations, raw coal will be split into gas, smokeless solid fuel, benzol and other valuable chemicals, and fertilizer. The industry needs more heat than power and the domestic use of fuel is the most extravagant. Gas as fuel for industrial heat and domestic needs approximates the ideal; for it requires no handling, creates no dirt, odor, ashes or refuse, relieves railroad and street congestion, and can be utilized even by inexpert persons at a very high efficiency.

Municipalities, by underwriting such integrated multiple production, super-fuel plants, according to Mr. Polakov, can serve the urban and suburban population with unheard-of economy by offering smokeless coal and gas and various by-products. This service can be extended to the adjacent territory, furnishing small towns and recently developed sections of larger cities with the most economic source of heat, while light and power will be generated with the smokeless solid fuel produced at super-fuel stations and used to generate electricity.

In view of many loose statements about our water power, it is interesting to see that the water-power contribution to the super-power system is less than 15 per cent. of the total, and is expected to sink to half this in four years. Mr. Philip Torchio has pointed out that while our Mountain and Pacific States have potential water powers five or six times as large as their requirements, the rest of the country is already demanding an amount of power of which the rivers can supply only 8 per cent., and do supply only 1.4 per cent. The limit of economic transmission of electricity is from 250 to 300 miles. Therefore, this section of greatest power consumption cannot draw help from the West; and the absolute necessity of some national policy of conservation of coal becomes apparent. Needless to say, such conservation must include far-reaching development of the water-powers available.





IN THE BUSINESS SECTION OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT UNDER TEST

BUFFALO'S FIVE YEARS' EXPERIENCE

BY M. M. WILNER

THE city of Buffalo has been under the commission plan of government for the last five years. Being the largest city in the United States to adopt this system, Buffalo is an interesting subject for study by those who are trying to solve American municipal problems. A remarkable demonstration that the people still approve the experiment after five years of trial has recently been furnished. During the session of the State Legislature which adjourned on April 16th a determined effort was made to repeal Buffalo's commission charter. It was defeated by the protests of the citizens, which became strong enough fairly to scare legislators already committed to the change from going ahead with their project.

The story is worth wide telling. The important features of commission government, as applied in Buffalo, are that both executive and legislative functions are vested in a council of five men, who are elected at large;

the Mayor is a member of the council and heads a department, but has no veto power; the councilmen are nominated and elected by a non-partisan system which requires that candidates have their names placed on the primary ballot by petition without party designations and the two candidates for each office who stand highest in the primary go on the election ballot, also without party designations.

Soon after the election last fall a Buffalo member of the State Legislature announced his purpose to present a bill revising the charter. The proposition received little attention at first. No meetings of citizens were held to discuss it, nor was the city government consulted. The citizens gained their first knowledge of what was intended when the bill was introduced at Albany. It was then found that the measure provided for the creation of a larger council elected by districts, equivalent to a board of alder-

men; separation of executive and legislative functions, giving the Mayor a veto power but no seat in the council; abolition of the non-partisan system of primaries and elections and restoration of the party system by a provision that nominations should be made and elections held under the regular State laws.

The friends of commission government were alarmed. To all appearance the enemies of the charter were in full power, and the prevailing tendency in the legislature reflected their views. The local party organizations did not formally support the bill, but it was well understood and publicly stated on the floor of the State Assembly that both favored it. Of the eight local Assemblymen and three Senators, seven Assemblymen and two Senators declared directly for the change. One Assemblyman and one Senator, while opposing the measure, introduced bills of their own which, if adopted, would also have abolished commission government. All bills proposed a referendum election to be held on May 31st.

The principal arguments offered in support of the change were that stronger candidates for Mayor could be obtained if the power of the office were increased by restoring the veto; that different sections of the city required local representatives to promote their local interests; that taxation had been considerably increased under commission government; that much undignified squabbling and disgraceful exchanges of personalities had occurred at sessions of the council; that the non-partisan system had facilitated the election of a Socialist, whose attitude was responsible for most of the bickering.

Improved Finances

The counter-arguments, which illustrate the favorable results of commission government, were many and varied. It was pointed out that the Mayor, by reason of his seat in the council and voice in the passing of appropriations and ordinances, now has more real power than he could exercise as a simple executive with a veto and that he had proved this by preventing riotous demonstrations and a threatened policemen's strike at a time when serious disturbances were occurring in Cleveland, Boston and other cities. It was recalled that former boards of aldermen had usually been made up of men of small caliber who were controlled by political committees and whose rule was wasteful and inefficient. No scandal or corruption could be charged

against commission government. A heavy increase in taxation was undeniable, but it was shown to be less than has occurred in most cities during the period of war inflation. Moreover, it has been accomplished chiefly by a revision and equalization of assessments, which was just and businesslike.

When the commission government took hold, the city was bonded to the constitutional debt limit. It has not increased its net debt during these five years. Payment of expiring bonds has balanced the issue of new securities, and the city's debt is now \$40,000,000 below the limit fixed by the State Constitution. While this improvement in the finances has been effected, important public improvements, some of which had been needed for many years, have been carried out. Furthermore, the tide has begun to turn. A reduction of \$5 per \$1000 in the tax rate has been made for next year.

As for the election of a Socialist to the Council, that is likely to happen in any industrial city and might be more easily accomplished if the non-Socialist vote were divided between Republicans and Democrats. In Milwaukee the two old parties have found it necessary to unite in municipal politics to combat Socialism. Under the commission government in Buffalo, the election of a Socialist did not turn the city over to the Socialist party. The Socialist councilman was merely placed at the head of the department of public affairs and the government under the non-partisan council went on as before. It would be necessary under commission government for the Socialists to carry two, if not three, successive elections before they could assume administration of the city, as they would do whenever they win a single election in other cities.

Public Opinion Supports Commission Government

Argument, however, was lost on the legislature, which heard the city's side only as presented by a few citizens before committees. The bill received but seven opposition votes in the Assembly and four in the Senate. It was then sent to the Mayor of Buffalo, as required by the State Constitution. By this time the people were thoroughly aroused. All the newspapers except one opposed the reversion to the old aldermanic and party-government system. Clubs of both men and women voters denounced the change. Public meetings were held at which very strong protests were voiced. Men

who had held office under the old government and had been leaders in resisting the adoption of the commission charter originally declared that it had been successful and should stand. At the hearing before the Mayor the hall was crowded with earnest citizens, representing all manner of organizations, who spoke emphatically against the bill, while but seven persons, including two members of the legislature, appeared in its favor.

The Mayor, after holding the bill for the fifteen days that the law permitted, returned it to Albany with a stirring veto. The session was then within three days of the time set for adjournment. The nearly unanimous vote by which the bill had been passed the first time presaged an immediate repassage, but the hearts of the legislators failed them. The evidence of public disfavor was too

strong for the politicians. They realized that they had underestimated the weight of public opinion which supported commission government. The local Senator who had introduced the bill announced that he would make no further effort in its behalf. The chairman of the Republican County Committee declared that his organization would do nothing for it. No motion to repass the bill over the Mayor's veto was made in either house, and the legislature adjourned leaving the commission charter untouched.

This was probably the one instance in which public pressure turned the New York legislature of 1921 from an original purpose. Such an exhibit of popular approval of commission government after five years of experience may well encourage municipal reformers to strive for a further extension of the system.

FROM SENATE TO PRESIDENCY

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

TWO statements concerning new precedents established by President Harding were current in Washington at the time of his inauguration. One was attributed to the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts; both were generally misinterpreted or historically inaccurate as quoted by the press throughout the country. One statement was to the effect that for the first time in our history a President had appeared officially before the Senate on the day of his inauguration, and the other that President Harding was the first Senator to be elected President. Both statements are technically correct, although the second is not properly interpreted to mean that President Harding is the first Senator to fill the office of President.

Ten Presidents Before Harding Had Served in the Senate

As a matter of fact, ten Presidents, beginning with Monroe and running continuously from John Quincy Adams through Jackson, Van Buren, William Henry Harrison to Tyler, and later Pierce, Buchanan, Andrew Johnson and Benjamin Harrison, all had seen previous service in the Senate. Garfield was elected to the Senate by the Legislature of his State in the same year that he

was nominated and elected President, but his election was for the term beginning on the fourth of March, when he was inaugurated President; therefore, he never served as Senator and was merely a Senator-elect at the time of his election to the Presidency. No one of the other ten was a Senator in office at the time of his election to the Presidency.

In an article on "The New Cabinet and Its Problems," published in the April REVIEW OF REVIEWS, in a parenthetical statement beginning at the third line of the first column near the top of page 384, in speaking of President Harding's own service in the Senate, I must plead guilty to a slip of the pen in an unqualified statement, which has given in some quarters an erroneous impression that I did not intend, and which I am glad to take this opportunity to correct. In the parenthesis referring to President Harding's previous service in the Senate I said: "He is the first President who has previously had a term in the Senate." What I intended to say was that of our recent Presidents—having in mind the period from the Civil War to the present—he was the first to have gone directly from a full term in the Senate into the Presidency. Even this statement would not have been technically accurate, because President Harding resigned his

seat in the Senate several weeks before the expiration of his full term, which would have expired on the day of his inauguration as President, and his successor elected at the time he was elected President was appointed by the Governor of his State to fill out the unexpired term of a few weeks.

The point which I intended to suggest is not, however, without some political significance, especially in view of the constitutional struggle that took place between the President and the Senate during the last two years of President Wilson's second term. President Harding is more than the first Senator in office to pass from a full or nearly full term in the Senate into the Presidency. He assumes his duties as President after active participation in the work of the Senate for nearly six years immediately prior to his inauguration, and as one of the leaders of the dominant majority in the Senate during the two years immediately preceding his inauguration as President.

President Harding's Unique Relationship to the Senate

No other President who had had previous Senatorial experience had ever held any such relationship to the Senate as President Harding. Indeed, the record of the ten Presidents who had previously at one time or other been Senators is a rather curious and interesting one. Most of them were misfits in the Senate, or at least had an unhappy and unsatisfactory political experience as members of that body. Monroe served four years and then resigned to accept an appointment as Minister to France in 1794. John Quincy Adams served five years of his term; during most of the time at outs with his party, and finally resigning when the Legislature of his State emphasized the rebuke of his party by electing his successor more than a year before the expiration of his term.

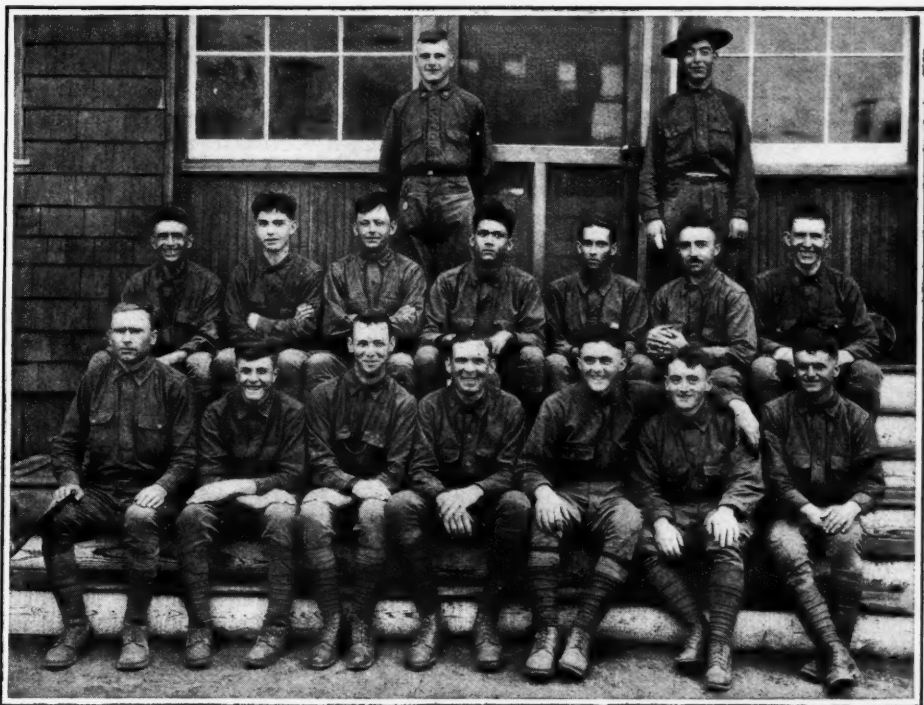
Jackson was twice Senator, the first time for only a few months, when he resigned for more congenial activities, and the second time when he was elected in 1823 by the Legislature of his State in order to advance his interests as a candidate for the Presidency,

for which he was defeated in 1824 by John Quincy Adams. Although Jackson served in a fairly active capacity, he resigned his seat in the Senate shortly after Adams was inaugurated President in 1825. Van Buren served a full term from 1821 to 1827 and was re-elected in 1827, but resigned a year later to accept the nomination as Governor of New York, to which office he was elected in 1828. William Henry Harrison served three years, from 1825 to 1828, when he resigned to go as Minister to Colombia. Tyler served nine years in the Senate, having been elected for a full term in 1827 and again in 1833; but he resigned in 1836 as a protest against the action of the Virginia Legislature in instructing its Senators with respect to their vote on political issues. Pierce served for five years of a term beginning in 1837, but resigned in 1842 to resume his practice of law.

Buchanan served the longest term in the Senate of any of our Presidents, eleven years in all, having been elected in 1834 and again in 1840, but he resigned his seat in 1845 to become Secretary of State. Andrew Johnson was Senator from 1857 to 1862, when he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee. He also served a short term after retirement from the Presidency from March, 1875, during the extra session, until his death on July 30th of that year. Benjamin Harrison served a full term from 1881 to 1887, which expired, however, two years before his inauguration as President.

President Harding's previous service in the Senate may be clearly distinguished from that of any of his predecessors. Throughout his campaign he showed a determination to utilize that experience in an earnest attempt to secure a clearer definition and a better recognition of the full constitutional prerogatives of both the Senate and the Presidency. He earnestly desires closer coöperation in the exercise of their respective functions; better coördination of the executive functions of the Senate with those of the Executive branch of the Government for the more efficient working of the machinery of government established by the Constitution.





SIXTEEN MEN, OF SIXTEEN DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES, LEARNING TO BE AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS
(In the recruit educational center at Camp Dix, New Jersey, there have been represented at a single time more than fifty nationalities and thirty languages)

THE ARMY AS A SCHOOL

BY THEODORE M. KNAPPEN

WHEN Congress voted to reduce the regular army to 175,000 enlisted men, some called it a step toward disarmament, but there were thousands and thousands of persons to whom it meant shutting the door of the schoolhouse. When the edict to cease recruiting came, eager adult students were pouring into the brand-new, peace-time American school-army at the rate of 1500 a day.

In fact, so unlike any regular army that ever was since the first standing army evolved from the tribal hordes is the United States army, as reorganized since the world war, that it is a debatable point as to whether the arts of peace are not advanced by increasing and retarded by decreasing it.

What the Old Army Was Like

Anyone who knew the old American regular army of hard-boiled commissioned officers and still harder boiled non-coms, with its backbone of first-class privates who could lick

their weight in wildcats and were tougher than leather and rougher than sandpaper, would never recognize its kinship to the new army. That old army was as hostile as a mad porcupine and was the fine product of the frontier age of the Republic. For a hundred years it had fought hard-fighting savages and patrolled the marches of advancing civilization. It was hard and rough for hard and rough times. It fought sneeringly and died swearing. It lit up the frontier trading centers in its off-hours, listed little whence it came or whither it was going. It was a truly he-man's army that outswore the army in Flanders, outrode the cowboy and outnerved the Apache. It knew little of education beyond straight shooting, and would have scorned it no less. It was largely recruited from the drifters and toughs of the big cities, from the down-and-outers, from the hapless and aimless and the adventurers, than which there never was better material for the pro-

fessional soldier. It drilled hard, fought gamely, loafed much and boozed more. It would as soon have thought of going to school as wearing skirts.

The New Army—a Big University

The new army, the army that has been built up in its enlisted strength since the war, and that has been molded on its present lines within the past fifteen months, is about the soberest, busiest army that ever was. It is an army of education, recreation, drilling and policing, drawn largely from the reserves of native American stock in the rural districts. Pretty nearly everybody in it from the chief-of-staff to the newest illiterate in the recruit center schools is on the jump from reveille to taps. It is perhaps the greatest public school for adults in the world. It has enrolled on its lists of students no less than 110,000 men (including the old army specialists' schools), and it has been doing things in an educational way that have opened the eyes of educators everywhere and that unquestionably tend to revolutionize the technique of education throughout the land.

It is the only school in the United States, if not in the world, that undertakes in one and the same course to give a man social education, scientific instruction and vocational training; *i. e.*, the trade school, the engineering college and academic college in one. It is the only great public school in the world that pays and "keeps" a hundred thousand men while it educates them. It is such a new thing in armies that it may be that while the public is talking about doing away with the army and Congress is legislating to reduce it, both are thinking about something that no longer exists. Certain it is that to men in the army the word has an utterly different meaning from what it had as late as 1916. The army is to-day an indispensable part of the educational and Americanization programs—and there be competent observers who say that it is educating better than the public schools and Americanizing better than the social settlements.

Effective Vocational Training

Everybody has heard something about the introduction of vocational training into the army and navy. Most people probably think that it was conceived as a bit of window-dressing for the army, as a lure for easily duped boys needed to fill up lean regiments, and that its development was in the inspiring recruiting posters. I more than half thought

so myself until I put in the better part of a month studying the educational army in its posts and camps. Then I discovered that the army's vocational training is already about the most effective system of its kind in the country and that preliminary, too, or optionally with vocational training goes a radically new general education plan that is capable of landing an intelligent man in West Point, in the freshman class of any college, or in the highest rank of thinking and acting citizenship when army days are over.

Army Training That Makes Good Citizens

Newton D. Baker, the retiring Secretary of War, came into office little better than an army hater, but he soon came to see in the army wonderful potentialities for national efficiency and good citizenship, and he leaves office a believer in compulsory military training and convinced that every good man is better for a term in the army. Mr. Baker early caught the idea of an army that should be productive and constructive, an army that would justify its existence in time of peace and doubly so in time of war, an army that would make good citizens as well as good soldiers. It has been his good fortune to remain in office long enough to see the United States Army become a school or university in khaki with an attendance ten times that of any conventional university and exceeded by but few municipal school systems.

The Need of Specialized Education for Soldiers

The germ of the educational army was planted as far back as the National Defense act of 1916, but the onrush of the war prevented its growth (except as emergency education was sledged into the millions who were summoned to the colors in 1917 and 1918) in order to make them fit to fight. The trying experience of those days, when it was found impossible to scrape up enough technicians to man the army services, and 25 per cent. of the draft men were discovered to be illiterate and thus unprepared even for the straight combat ranks of a modern army, soon made "hard-boiled" converts to education within the army. Another great step toward the new day came when the idle millions of Yanks in France, in the homesick times following the armistice, were organized into the great A. E. F. University with its headquarters at Beaume.

When the reorganization of the regular army began in 1919 the General Staff, in the

light of its experience during the war, incorporated education into its plans just as much as it did military organization and equipment. General W. G. Haan, who as Chief of the War Plans Division was charged with the groundwork of the educational system, took it up as an urgent military consideration. He had found in France that even in the combat lines 52 per cent. of the enlisted men needed some sort of specialized training to be the best soldiers, and that every soldier under the conditions of modern warfare needs to be literate and trained to think and act on his own initiative. Therefore General Haan was for general as well as technical education from the start. He assures me that in the beginning he had no thought of an educational program as a means of luring young men into an army that in the listless post-bellum days shrank to scarcely more than 100,000 men, with everybody wanting to get out and nobody wanting to get in.

Incidentally it should be said that anything that General Haan ignored in this respect the recruiting service picked up with a magnifying glass, and that the educational opportunities subsequently proved to be the very life-saver of the army—as something more than a paper organization. When General Martin was called to the chiefship of the recruiting job in the latter part of 1919 the army was fading away like a snowbank before an April shower. The old recruiting

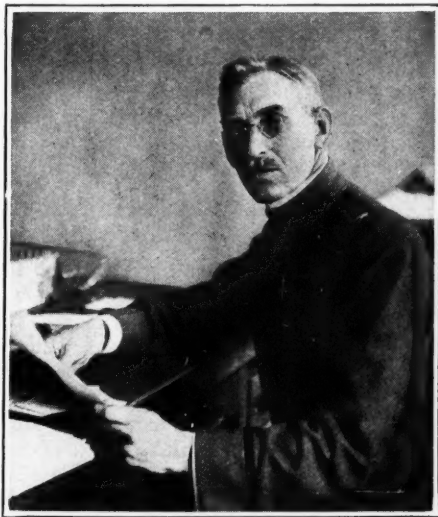


BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM G. HAAN

(As chief of the war plans division of the General Staff at Washington, General Haan was charged with working out the scheme of education within the army)

methods were promptly scrapped and the new army was "sold" to public opinion as a productive institution, and to the potential soldier as a means of adult education, with the most gratifying results. Along with the new methods came also some new men.

The General Staff called in civilian advisers to assist in Washington and at all corps, area and division headquarters, and the army, with characteristic energy and effective "punch," plunged into the new field of adult education on a big scale. At the head of the civilian division, in Washington, is Dr. C. R. Mann, an educator of national eminence. To Dr. Mann belongs no small part of the credit for the vision and the creation of the new educational army, which has grown during his association with it out of general ideas that sprang from the summer training camps of pre-war days, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and the Students' Army Training Corps of war-time, in all of which he was an important factor. Harmoniously cooperating with him on the military side in the inception and planning is Col. R. I. Rees, of the General Staff, who was president of the A. E. F. University, and General P. C. Harris, who as Adjutant General is the army's superin-



MAJOR GEN. PETER C. HARRIS

(As Adjutant General of the Army, General Harris is its "superintendent of schools")

tendent of schools; and there was a long list of other keen, able and progressive officers.

The Germ of an Educational Technique

The civilian advisers were broad enough to perceive at the start that a school for grown men must be radically different from the conventional school for children. They also perceived that they had a clean slate for pedagogical research and experimentation in educational technique, long accepted in theory but difficult of introduction into the schools. Nor did they forget that the army knew something about dealing educationally with grown men, and that in the service schools that had existed in the army from time immemorial, as part of specialized military training, much had been learned about practical education.

Indeed, the civilian advisers are frank to credit these old army specialists' schools with having evolved the applicatory method of vocational training; which the former have now applied throughout the army educational system. They call it the problem or project method, and it is just the converse of the ordinary method of instruction. It got a tryout on a huge scale during the war when thousands of special service men were jammed into technical schools all over the country with an urgent demand for intensive technical training. It is the ancient and natural method of learning by doing the task first and mastering the principles of its solution thereafter; instead of memorizing the principles and then—or never—applying them to a concrete problem.

To meet the new method an entire system of vocational and general educational manuals has had to be prepared laboriously by the army—worked out from start to finish on the problem basis. The magnitude of this task may be comprehended when it is known that the army trains for 117 different trades and provides general education from the illiterate stage up to the equivalent of the twelfth grade. It is impossible within a limited space to describe the administrative side of this educational scheme, but it may be said that it is administered according to General Staff plans by the Adjutant General's Department, and that in every camp or post it is directed by specially picked education and recreation officers with civilian advisers. The teaching force consists of 600 officers, 1500 enlisted men and 1500 civilians, including many women. Of course the local commandant is supreme in local matters and he has a wide range of authority in adapting the schools

within his jurisdiction to local and emergency conditions and military necessity.

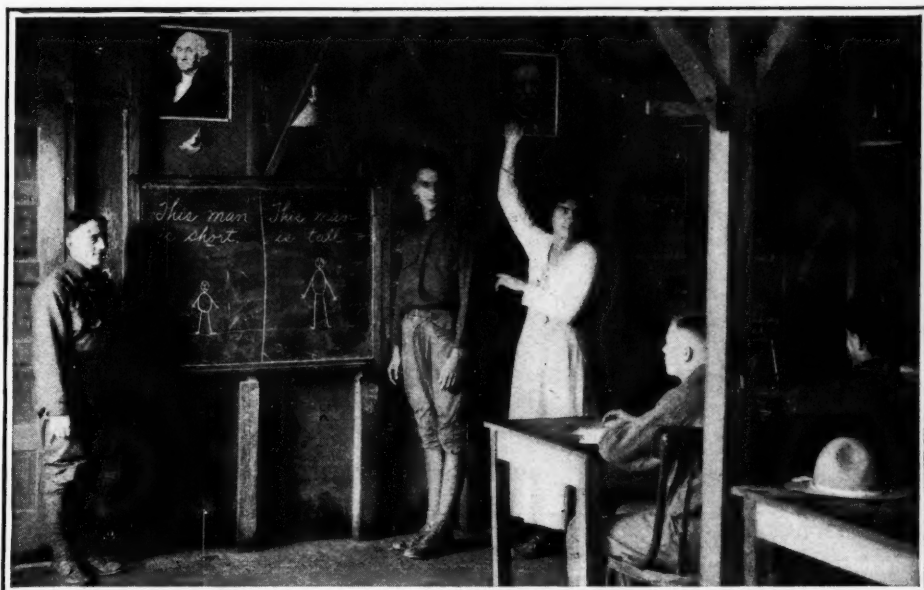
Importance of Women Teachers in the Scheme

At the bottom of the educational army are the recruit educational centers, to which are assigned native recruits who are illiterate and foreigners who are illiterate or, being literate, are unfamiliar with English. There are now more than 4500 men of sixty different nationalities in these basic schools, of whom 3500 are illiterates, and their average output consists of 18,000 men annually, equipped with a good working knowledge of English, reading and writing, and other basic elements of education. It takes from three to five months to put a man through a recruit educational center. And it is not until then that he is assigned to a regular military unit and enters the general educational or vocational courses.

The introduction of these stalwart men to the field of learning, because of their adult intelligence and their pathetic earnestness in making up for early omission, is perhaps the most interesting, if not the most beneficial, phase of the army schools. Following the project method, about the first thing the illiterate rookie learns is to write a real letter to his home folk or his sweetheart. He is largely taught by pictures and example, mostly under the tutelage of women. The devotion of the big unlearned men to their women teachers is most touching. Many of them meet in these teachers for the first time women of culture and refinement, who are at the same time to them the source of all knowledge. To them the word of the teacher is law—and it has been necessary to instruct the teachers in military discipline and ethics so that the loyal pupils may not oppose what they learn from the teacher in the schoolroom to the officer on the drill ground.

Rapid Progress of Adult Pupils

When these grown men break through the ice of letters into the virgin fields of knowledge, they frequently make up in months for the losses of years. I have met men not a year old in reading, who are already reading five or six good books a week. In these primary schools, as indeed throughout the army educational organization, there are no periodical grades. At the beginning men are assigned to groups according to their native intelligence or previous education, determined by the familiar army mental tests, and are then advanced just as rapidly as they learn, so



A LESSON IN ELEMENTARY ENGLISH, BY THE OBJECT METHOD

(The illiterate recruit is largely taught by picture and example; and it has been found that women teachers are more successful than men at this particular job)

that some men accomplish as much in two or three months as others in a year. Many men do the equivalent of three public school annual grades in a single year, and the average for all the illiterates is two grades a year.

For those who can read and write there is a second basic course which really includes "a combination of all the social sciences." The success of these courses in establishing sane attitudes toward life, in instilling the fundamentals of general knowledge, in acquainting men with social and political institutions in a thinking rather than in a memorizing way, is marked. Educators everywhere are wondering whether the army has not already hit on a technique of instruction that should be universally adopted. Of course, the army has the advantage of dealing with grown men who are seriously seeking an education, instead of with restive children who would shirk it, but there is much conjecture as to whether the children would shirk if every step in the schools was linked up with life, living and doing, as it is in the army. Following the second basic courses comes one in industry and science and then a fourth in civics, history and literature.

The original manuals of the general educational and technical courses, which are as different from the ordinary text-book in matter as they are in instructional technique, are

coming into demand from all quarters—corporations, night schools, etc.—where there is a need for hurry-up correction of early deficiencies in education. The uniqueness of these courses may be illustrated by the very first lesson of the second course which deals with the problem: Why do men work? Thinking starts that minute and to answer the question fully, as it recurs in various phases through the course, knowledge is acquired of history, geography, climate, ethnology, and all the thousand factors that revolve around the Edenic curse. So, throughout the general courses, education is tied up to and interwoven with the pulsating life of the world around the camps and with the simple things and acts of the soldier's everyday life. The soldier student thinks himself into education.

Products of the Army Schools

Of course, the army educators were thinking primarily of the soldier as a future citizen when they laid out these attractive and stimulating general courses and it must be admitted that many a good old officer smiled cynically when they were started.

"The damfoolest thing that has come out of Washington," said a leather-faced major at a Texas post, "since Secretary Root sent 780 school teachers to the Philippines in one



THE FIRST DAY IN SCHOOL—RECRUITS TAKING A MENTAL TEST EVEN BEFORE THEY RECEIVE UNIFORMS

transport while the natives were still shooting at us."

"Well, that didn't work out so badly," drawled the colonel. "The army caught 'em and the teachers taught 'em."

So it is to-day—the recruiters catch 'em and the army schools teach 'em.

Now, the hard-boiled are beginning to think quite as favorably of general as of vocational education. The officers notice that the best scholars are the best soldiers. The man who learns in school understands on the drill ground and in all military relations. The "school learning" brings a new spirit of intelligence into discipline. The student looks his officer straighter in the eye, holds his head higher, obeys more snappily and sulks not at all—because he has thought and argued out in school the necessity for group control.

Countering "Red" Propaganda

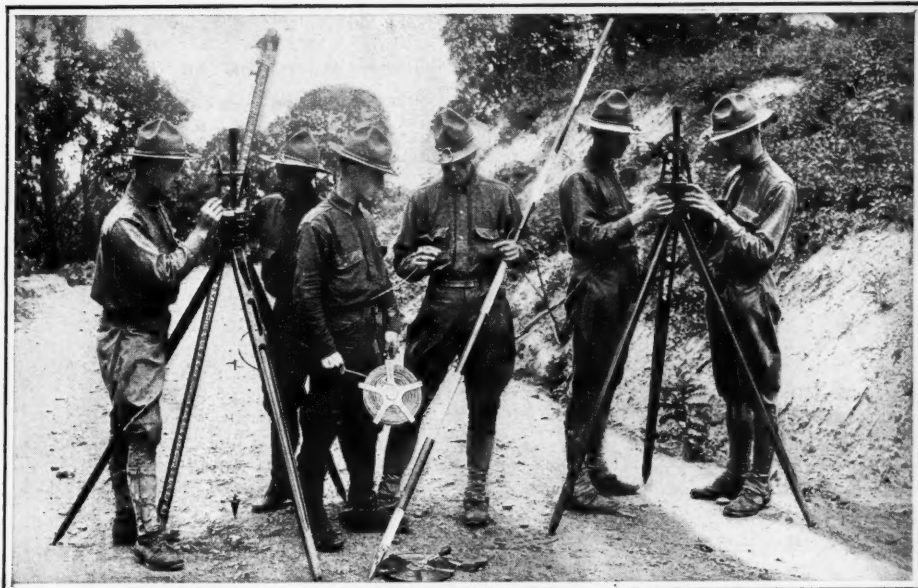
These schools turn out no military rebels; neither do they turn out civic brawlers. The men who come through them may not have a great content of knowledge but they are not half-baked, shallow thinkers. They are grounded in the elementals of human life and relations, and though their heads may be sometimes in the clouds, their feet are always on the ground of fact. Thus the army, designed to protect the State from physical violence from without and from within, combats the destructive seditions and invasions of vicious ideas and crooked thinking by sending forth yearly thousands of "graduates,"

firmly grounded in economic and political elementals and trained in thinking as well as in fighting. More than half of these men come from and return to the very stratum of society in which red unrest breeds and where it is most secure. Trained to think and analyze in a community environment—that of the post—which is above the average in the efficiency of its group administration and in the well-being of its members, the student soldiers return to civil life convinced of the importance and potency of conscious control of social relations.

It is true that the army administration is not democratic or democratically instructive, but the new army is nevertheless humanly democratic. Along with discipline goes now understanding from below and sympathy from above—and every rookie carries a West Point appointment in his head. Sixty of them are in the Plebe class now and hundreds are headed for the old Academy of "honor, duty, country," through the army schools. As a foil to rigid discipline the new army has the freedom of the classroom, in which I have known upstanding soldiers to tell unabashed of the frictions and seamy sides of army life—in the presence of officers.

Learning by Doing

Even in the vocational courses the army has been able to improve on lay school methods. Instead of learning to do certain things with tools, as in manual training courses, afterward applying the acquired

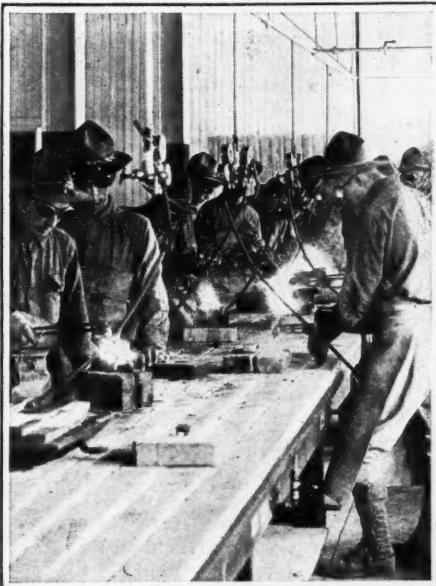


A LESSON IN SURVEYING AT CAMP HUMPHREYS, VIRGINIA

(During the war, forty thousand engineer troops passed through Camp Humphreys. It has now become the principal center for the training of engineer specialists within the army)

dexterity to productive work, the army vocationist is started right out on an operation that is part of an integral job and learns his tools as he requires them. For instance, the pioneering army educators have analyzed the plumber's trade into forty-two different operations. That means that any sort of a plumbing job imaginable involves one or more of these operations. The man who has mastered those operations has mastered plumbing, but many a man might be proficient in the use of every plumbing tool and material, and still not be a plumber. Continuing with plumbing as an illustration, the plumbing class is always at work on real plumbing jobs around the camp, thus learning by doing and also paying its way.

When you think of the hundred-odd trades that are being taught in the army and that everyone of them seeks to do its particular kind of work in the camp, you see the possibilities of an economically productive army — of an army that pays its way and earns its "keep" in peace. The farms of the agricultural courses at Camp Grant in Illinois and Camp Travis in Texas pay their way now. The automotive schools, the electrical schools, the shoemaking, saddlery, vulcanizing, painting, and so forth, everywhere produce while they teach. A hundred thousand men in the army technical schools would mean \$30,000,000 worth of labor annually, which if adequately capitalized and provided with



LEARNING OXYACETYLENE WELDING
(A popular trade among soldier boys)

plant and machinery might enable the army to be entirely self-sufficient from uniforms to cannon. Here are interesting possibilities of an educational army that supports itself by its material products and at the same time fills a great gap in the present educational supply by sending out men with cultural education and economic fitness.

Appreciation of Employers

Already there is a great demand for men from the army vocational schools. The Chicago Bakers' Association, for instance, guarantees a \$40-a-week job to every graduate of the bakers' school at Camp Grant, provided he has an honorable discharge from the army. Hundreds of employers have reported that the trained army man has the first chance with them and are keeping in touch with the army schools for mutual benefit. Uniform certificates or diplomas are to be issued hereafter—and armed with the certificate of character that an honorable discharge is, the graduate of the khaki university is confident of a job in industry and a place in society.

As the conception of the educational army permeates the popular mind the army becomes an intimate and valued factor in the common life. I have seen scores of letters from fathers and mothers asking for permission to send their boys to the army. Some beg for admission for boys below the legal age; some pour out thanks for the education their boys are getting; some praise the army as the only possible means of education for their children. On the other hand are letters from employers emphatically asserting that the army-trained workman is head and shoulders above other new men. Again and again employers declare that army men know how to take orders and give them; accept responsibility with concentration and confidence, observe instructions faithfully and do their work with a consciousness of duty that has become mighty scarce in these disintegrating times. Military training and vocational training supplement each other admirably—for the good workman in these days of mass production must also "team" well and the army teaches teamwork. Moreover, drill inculcates accuracy, promptness, and keenness.

Criticisms Within the Service

No good American can examine the new educational army without becoming enthusiastic about it, but it would be a mistake to give the impression that it has already at-

tained perfection, or that all the veteran officers and men are in full sympathy and whole-souled coöperation with it. The schooling is purely voluntary, except for the instruction of illiterates, and doubtless many of the men take it in the hope that they will escape some of the obnoxious camp-policing details. Many of the old non-coms are bitterly opposed to the schools, insisting that they spoil what otherwise would be good soldier stuff and fail to produce scholars or workmen.

"This education fad is ruining this man's army," was the pronouncement of one of the finest fighting sergeants in the service. "None of these kids wants an education. They enroll in the schools to dodge details, which makes the other men sorer than boils."

"If this school business in the army is a fluke," said a private, "the non-coms will have done it. They make it just as hard for us as they can."

It would take a bulky book to give an adequate account of this new thing in armies—so new that the definition no longer fits—an institution of popular education and industrial training quite as much as of military efficiency, that is making sane-minded, sound-bodied, efficient citizens out of the rawest and sometimes the most unpromising material. We may never have compulsory military training in this country, but the army now provides the advantages of such training, with a useful education, to as many thousands of young men as Congress will permit by its limitation of the numbers to attend the only federal school for the people.

The schools have been taken into the army at the bottom by education in the army, just as through the Reserves Officers' Training Corps—and now through the new official summer training camps—the army has been taken into the schools at the top. With its 50,000 yearly "graduates" the new army makes intimate contacts with the civilian population, and the old hostile separation of army and people disappears. Army officers and teachers find themselves brought together as national educators. This new national school was rapidly rising to the 200,000 attendance mark when the 175,000 limit for the whole army was established. From now on, therefore, we shall see disappointed youths patiently waiting for the next vacancy in the school-army. And it will not be surprising if there shall soon be such a pounding at the locked and barred doors that Congress will yet enlarge the army, not to get more sol-

diers, but rather to provide more education.

The navy is also becoming educational, but it started later than the army, except for the Marines, who patronize a national correspondence school. The navy schools have not been established yet on all the ships or at any of the shore stations, always excepting the specialists' schools. The navy encounters peculiar difficulties because it is a transient service, the ships here to-day and there to-morrow, and because of the fact that sailors at sea are constructively always on duty. Consecutive class-work and regular study and recitation hours cannot be counted on. Hence the navy has evolved a self-help system of study, with the officers and other instructors as advisers and inspectors.

In both services there has been some measure of disappointment on the part of the enlisted students, because the priority of military duty has sometimes delayed, sometimes hampered and sometimes prevented any instruction. On account of the navy's later and slower development there has been less concurrence of performance with promise than in the army. Probably many naval officers consider that learning necessary duties on a modern ship is all that can be expected of a sailor. The army, however, is 95 per cent. sold to the idea of education and directed recreation as an established feature of the military term. In fact, it is now intended to incorporate some degree of general education into the military training of the soldier, so that the uneducated man henceforth will be compelled to study as well as drill.

The army sees in the blending of soldiering and education an intimate union between soldiers and civilians, the establishment of the army as a socially and economically productive instrumentality, and the coincident making of better soldiers and better citizens. As the national defender it takes a radiant pride in its new defense of American institutions through mental and moral means by the educational route. It looks forward to the near coming of a time when an ex-soldier will pro-



WHICH ARE THE MOST INTELLIGENT?

("Illiterate" soldier-recruits are divided into four groups, after mental tests. Two of the men in this picture have been graded "A," and the other two "D," although all four are classed as illiterate. "A" men are found to progress almost four times as fast as "D" men)

claim with pride his connection with the army and speak of it as affectionately as any college man of his alma mater. The army now considers itself the great national university of the grown-ups—the last chance of adult men for earning while learning, the conserving gleaner that comes after the public school and the college have passed over the field.

Of this we have the unanimous testimony of the veteran corps, area, and division commanders who led their fighting divisions to victory in France. They are as intent now on military educational advancement as they were three years ago on breaking the German lines. It has become their great objective. They look no more for the professional soldier in the enlisted man. They consider him rather as an evolving citizen who, in return for three years of military service, receives an education from the Government, and constitutes with his fellows an ever-changing army that serves no less in peace than in war.

"Here is the opportunity," exclaims General J. G. Harbord, of the fighting Second Division, "to build the largest educational institution in the world! The army will become the poor man's university. The expense would be ridiculously small. Its value cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents, but must be computed in terms of trained citizens."

AN IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

BY HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K.B.E.

(Past-President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

THE "Imperial Conference" to be held at London this summer will acquire a special interest for the American people. The Australian Premier, Mr. Hughes, declared in his Parliament at Melbourne, on April 10, that this country, while desiring a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, favors this only on terms that will be acceptable to the United States and that modifications to ensure this will be advocated by him at this conference, where the subject will be one of the most important to be discussed.

This Imperial Conference will be a gathering of the British Premier and his associates of the Imperial Cabinet with the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions overseas—Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—and two delegates from India, to deal with pressing issues concerning the future well-being of the British commonwealth and especially that of naval defense hereafter. Since these several component portions of the great empire are separated from one another by vast oceans, the problem of naval defense is an ever-present one for them. Mr. Lloyd George, at the opening of the present session of the British Parliament last February, said that the coming assemblage would be the most momentous in the history of the Empire, as it was unthinkable that the forty-five million people inhabiting the British Isles should hereafter maintain the whole burden of the defense of the Empire as they had done in the past.

More recent statements by the Canadian, New Zealand and South African Premiers have indicated very divergent views with reference to the subjects to be discussed in the Conference, and all the written and spoken testimony accumulating in the "Colonies," as the time of meeting approaches, tends to show that the working out of some of the problems will not be an easy matter or speedily accomplished. One large group of imperialists favors a purely Imperial Cabinet with representatives of the Overseas Dominions sitting in conference with the Ministers of

the British Cabinet in Downing Street and taking part in all the business that may arise. But against this there is the obvious criticism that such procedure would always imply that the Overseas Dominions would accept the principle of being bound by any decision so reached, whereas the truth is that no "Colonial" statesman, using the word Colonial to describe the overseas representatives, would now subscribe to the doctrine that his people should be automatically bound to take part in any or all of Britain's wars or to furnish quotas of ships or men or money for "adventures of empire" in Mesopotamia or Syria or any of the countries where some ambitious motherland statesmen are now suspected of "gambling in nations" with the idea of acquiring more territory for the British flag and winning distinction for themselves as champions of a thoroughgoing policy. The late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Premier, enunciated a Colonial "declaration of independence" at the Conference in 1911 when he declared Canada unalterably opposed to becoming involved "in the vortex of European militarism."

Canada's Problem of Defense

Canada has her special problem for the Conference in the fact that she has two widely separated seaboard, the Atlantic and the Pacific, each as extensive as that of the United States, and only 8,000,000 people to furnish the men, materials and money for the adequate defense of these—a condition aggravated by the growing fear on the Pacific Coast of Japanese expansion in the years to come. It is true that the general principle of the Monroe Doctrine is coming to be accepted throughout Canada as a reinsurance policy for her, but it is by no means certain that even with this she can feel it satisfactory to place herself in that position or to rest content with the more or less skeleton navy which now is all that seems possible to her. A goodly proportion of her people are unwilling to see this navy increased, because they argue that their country has had enough of war and, with 54,000 of her best

sons offered as a sacrifice to Moloch in the late conflict, they are relentlessly opposed to either naval or military expansion in the near future. Newfoundland does not figure in this controversy, except incidentally, because her small population (260,000) and limited resources make it impossible for her to do much more than undertake that the suitable element among her seafaring people may be made available for the uses of the Imperial Navy in war time, as the same material proved of use in the late struggle, and it is conceded that if she does undertake this task she will be fully meeting the requirements upon her for naval defense.

South Africa's Attitude

South Africa's position has recently been stated by Premier Smuts to be that of desiring to work out the destiny of a bi-lingual population, Dutch-speaking and English-speaking, under the aegis of the British flag, but along lines suitable to the South African Dominion, and here it may be of interest to note that eighteen months ago, when Admiral Jellicoe was making a tour of the overseas possessions to advise the governments of the various Dominions on the subject of naval partnership, his proposed visit to South Africa was canceled at the last moment, at the suggestion of the authorities there, because it was felt that his presence would have an irritating effect upon the Boer population and greatly increase the handicaps under which Premier Smuts would have to fight the general election that was then pending. With a substantial element, possibly one-third, cherishing the hope of ultimate separation and the creating of a new nationality, if not actively advocating it at the present time, the participation of South Africa in any scheme of imperial naval defense is thus not going to be easy, and repeated official statements have had to be made in that country lately that it is not intended to involve South Africa in any imperial controversy or policy by any commitments except those which are endorsed as they arise by the government of the Union itself.

Asiatic Immigration

The special problem of Australia and New Zealand, which Dominions may be grouped as one in regard to the matters that will arise in the Conference which may affect them, is that besides the question of naval defense, which is very acute, there is also the question, and an ever-present issue, if

not a menace in these Dominions, of prohibiting Asiatic immigration. They are unshaken in the aim to uphold "a white Australia," to keep the territories for the Anglo-Saxon race, and to discourage the introduction of any Eastern elements whatever. It is argued in some quarters that it will be impossible for them to adequately develop their country in the future without the help of cheap Eastern labor, but they fear, and with strong reason, the devitalizing of their population which an Oriental strain would involve. Then they have a large territory which they must navally police and protect, and they view with grave concern the possibility of Japanese designs upon them. Premier Hughes, in the official utterance already mentioned, discussed the subject very frankly, both as to the exclusion of Asiatics and as to the provision of adequate naval and military forces to maintain such a policy against the demands for ingress for their subjects by nations like Japan, China, or others that may take form in the future. His country has but five million people and New Zealand little over a million more, and their territories would be tempting loot for "the yellow man," overflowing his own boundaries and looking with longing eyes at new and promising areas to develop.

Foreign Relations

Another important topic to be discussed is that of the future of the foreign relations of the empire. Tentative steps were taken a year ago for the appointment of a special Canadian representative at Washington, to deal primarily with Canada's relations with the United States and to act as head of the Embassy in the absence of the British Ambassador. Then arose the difficulty that Australia would likely want similar representation there in the immediate future, and that South Africa probably would voice a like demand at no remote date, with the contingency that the relative status of these spokesmen would not be easy to determine. This question, of course, would involve also the likelihood that Canada and Australia, if not the other Dominions, would be seeking diplomatic representation in other countries in the future, and that the simplest solution might be for them to appoint their own consuls and ministers as other nations do, many of them without the population, wealth or resources of either of these flourishing dependencies of the British Crown.

The Conference will likewise have to con-

sider the devising of machinery whereby the overseas Dominions may register their views in regard to the foreign problems of the empire to an extent not now possible. Manifestly, if these Dominions are in the future to take part in the military and naval defense of British territory, or in offensive warfare, when such should become necessary, whatever portion of the empire it attacked, they must have some method of making their views felt promptly and effectively in regard to the great international questions that may develop from time to time and precipitate the issue of war or peace. A striking instance of this is involved in the question recently put by some Australian student of empire problems, namely, "Is Britain prepared to furnish naval and military forces to assist us in the fight for a white Australia?" The importance of this query will best be realized when it is remembered that Japan is the only nation that can menace Australia's position in this regard and that to effectively cope with any Japanese designs in that direction would mean the transfer of most, if not all, of the British naval strength to the Pacific for the period necessary to crush any Japanese designs in that direction. On the other hand, what would befall the empire if the Atlantic were without a British fleet for months or perhaps for years, with hostile forces on the European continent seeing in this a chance to crush her?

Home Rule for India

The questions with which India is concerned are in the main those which pertain to her internal government. She has just been granted a modified constitution which is claimed to be the first step toward the ultimate goal of "home rule," or autonomy such as the white-peopled Dominions at present enjoy, but in a country of 320,000,000 of uneducated, scarcely civilized people, with countless races, tribes and sects, some with undying hostility toward others and all lacking the incentives or the attributes of the Anglo-Saxon, this hitherto subject nation will not soon reach the status enjoyed by the autonomous dependencies. Nevertheless, it would be undesirable, even if it were feasible, to attempt to rule India as in the past. The part played by the Indian troops in the Great War has amply justified her demand for a larger measure of self-government and the fighting races amongst India's myriad peoples may be even more urgently required in a later struggle. To that extent, indeed,

India's participation in the Conference acquires a special import. She is a reservoir from which can be drawn enormous numbers of men for fighting purposes in the future, if such should become necessary and her geographical position is such that she must inevitably be a powerful factor in any struggle in days to come which has the Far East or the Antipodes for its theater.

"Greater Britain"

The Conference this year is to be a preliminary to a larger conference a year hence to consider a revision of the whole constitutional relations of the Mother Country and the overseas possessions. At the Conference of 1922 both political parties—Government and Opposition—in the various Dominions will be represented, in order that whatever policy is adopted may have the support of the different political elements, and the way toward united action be smoothed thereby. It has been felt for some time that there is a growing tendency on the part of the opposition parties in the overseas possessions to resent their Premiers undertaking to speak for the entire communities, especially as in some cases the hold which these enjoy on the Government is very slight and the majority trifling, and because, moreover, at the very time some of these may be in the position of assuming to speak with the voice of the countries from which they come, an election would disclose that they were no longer the choice of the majority of the people.

It is admitted that there must be a modification of the relations between the motherland and the rest of the empire in the early future and that some machinery must be devised for recording the sentiments of "Greater Britain" toward large imperial questions; and action would probably have been taken earlier but for the feeling in the latter quarters that it was desirable to have a more marked return to peace-time conditions and a clearer understanding by the "Colonies," through discussion in parliament and press of what was intended before attempting this. Indeed, because of declarations by the French element in Canada and by the Nationalist (extreme Boer) elements in South Africa that they would not consider themselves bound by any decisions reached at this year's conference, an official announcement had to be made recently that all decisions reached this year would be submitted to the overseas parliaments for approval before becoming effective.



AN OIL WELL AT THE EDGE OF THE ARCTIC CIRCLE—NEAR FORT NORMAN, CANADA—1200 MILES NORTH OF THE UNITED STATES BORDER

OIL IN THE FROZEN NORTH

BY J. W. SMALLWOOD

A NEW chapter in the story of the international search for oil is now being unfolded in the frozen wilderness of the far North. While Great Britain has been depending upon foreign sources of supply, she has left undeveloped within the British Empire what is likely to prove one of the world's greatest reservoirs of petroleum. That the oil resources of Canada are at last beginning to be brought to the surface is due to the efforts of private capital, initiative, and enterprise—the capital, at least, being mostly American—and not to paternalism or governmental activities. Millions of dollars of private funds have been expended in attempts to make available the deposits of Canadian oil; and despite a long repetition of failures, extending over a period of many years, the campaign has continued until now it appears that an important supply of the precious liquid is finally being uncovered.

The existence of prolific oil deposits in Canada has long been known; but it is only during the past few years, with the world demand outstripping production, that serious efforts on a large scale have been made to render available the Canadian supply. The prospecting campaign in Canada is part of a world-wide search for new sources of supply such as never before was witnessed.

For years the world has been furnished with the bulk of its petroleum from the fields of the United States, with this country giving little thought to the future. Suddenly, with the development of a demand which a few years ago would hardly have been conceivable, it has been realized that the petroleum resources of the United States are not inexhaustible and that on the contrary we have probably reached the peak of our production after having consumed almost half of our total supply. The remaining supply is being used up at the rate of about one-thirteenth of the estimated total each year.

The World-Wide Search for Oil

In the last few years Mexico has become an important contributor to the world's oil supply, and in 1920 furnished almost one-fifth of the requirements of the American petroleum industry; but recently some of the most important Mexican fields have begun to fail. There is a difference of opinion regarding the outlook for Mexican oil production, yet it may be safely said that the most important operators there are disappointed as a result of the intrusion of salt water and that their views regarding the future production have recently undergone a change.

This is one of the reasons why many



American interests have been turning toward South America, especially Colombia and Venezuela. With their advent into foreign fields American oil pioneers have encountered keen competition on the part of foreign interests, which have in many instances been operating with the backing of their respective governments. Other nations which in the past have given only passing attention to petroleum, now that they have come to realize fully its peace uses and its military value, have adopted a policy of encouraging their nationals to acquire oil properties. This has been especially true of Great Britain, which has itself gone into the

oil business by acquiring stock control of at least one large company.

While the subject of Mesopotamian oil lands has created an international controversy, it will probably be many years before any substantial supply is developed from this region; in fact, it has recently been stated in the British Parliament that it will be at least a generation before these fields become largely productive. Present indications are that Canada will be an important contributor of petroleum long before Mesopotamia.

The most important developments thus far in Canada have been made by the Canadian Standard Oil subsidiary, Imperial Oil, Ltd. Walter Clarke Teagle, now president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, was formerly head of the Canadian branch, and there is little doubt that the company's prospecting campaign is largely a result of Mr. Teagle's judgment and vision.

Formerly the Standard Oil policy was to let the "wild-cat" and individual prospectors do the preliminary work; and until a few years ago the Standard concentrated foreign operations upon extending its markets, never having any difficulty about securing adequate supplies of crude oil. But Mr. Teagle sees an ever-increasing demand for petroleum, and his company is scouring the world for fresh supplies. The Standard Oil president believes that it is not necessary for a nation itself to enter the oil business in order to be assured of an adequate supply of petroleum. He believes that this work should be done by private producers and practical oil men, without governmental hindrance. It is his opinion that direct Government control of such a supply is of no real military value in the event of war, as in such case the resources of a country are available without regard to private interests.

Oil in the Arctic—A Second Klondike?

Because of recent developments, Canada is now preparing for a second Klondike, this time the rush being for "liquid gold" instead of the yellow metal. Oil in substantial quantities and of a high quality has been found at the edge of the Arctic Circle, over 1500 miles north of the nearest commercial oil well and 1400 miles away from the nearest railroad by the present routes of travel. Imperial Oil, Ltd., the Canadian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, has brought in a gusher whose flow has been estimated at from 1000 to 1500 barrels daily. This new well is located forty-five miles north of Fort Norman, a fur trading post with a population of about ten whites and thirty-five native families, on the Mackenzie River, in Northwest Territory. The well was drilled on geological advice which indicates the existence in the far North of an extensive oil field; and the same geological advice has resulted in an intensive drilling campaign extending from the international boundary line northward through the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

The presence of oil in Canada has long been known, and it is stated that seepages were discovered in the vicinity of Fort Norman seventy years before the first commercial well was located in the United States. In 1917 the Dominions Royal Commission—which had been appointed as a result of the colonial conference of 1911, including representatives appointed by the various dominion governments of the British Empire—made public a report including the following statement regarding the oil possibilities of Canada:

Reference must be made to the indications that a mineral asset of the Mackenzie Basin, and one of enormous importance, is oil; for it appears from the evidence that here is one of the largest areas of possible oil-bearing country yet unexplored on the face of the earth. It is estimated that the rocks, the Devonian strata, which are believed to be the source of this oil, cover an area of not less than 300,000 square miles. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this deposit, the exploitation of which cannot be long deferred, for the oil reserves of the United States are estimated by the United States Geological



THE LOG SHACK WHERE SIX PIONEER OIL PROSPECTORS SPENT THE WINTER OF 1919-1920

Survey to be sufficient, at the present rate of output, for only about thirty years, and no other part of the North American Continent gives such promise of new oil fields as the basin of the Mackenzie.

The Canadian Geological Survey has been engaged for years in working out the oil-bearing formations of that country, but credit for the most important results thus far obtained in the far North must be given to Dr. T. O. Bosworth, an English scientist who spent two years examining geological formations of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Northwest Territory, which enabled him in 1916 to furnish a report on Western Canada that resulted in his becoming chief geologist for Imperial Oil, Ltd. Because of war conditions that company did not begin active development work until 1918. Since that time the Canadian Standard Oil subsidiary has spent over \$2,000,000 in prospecting.

Fourteen Hundred Miles from a Railroad

Only one well was drilled in the Fort Norman region, regarded by the Imperial people as the district most certain to produce oil and believed to include vast oil lands extending to the Arctic coast. In this first test well, at a depth of 783 feet, oil was struck in the Devonian formation, the oil flowing twenty feet over the top of the drilling rig.

The bringing in of this well on August 25, 1920, marked the culmination of work started in May, 1919, when a party of nine drillers left Edmonton for Fort Norman, going north from Peace River, Slave River, and Great Slave Lake and then down the Mackenzie River for a total distance of over 1750 miles. They took with them a small drilling-rig and equipment, together with

enough provisions for the long Arctic winter. Included in their party was an ox known as "Nigger," who, after contributing his full share to building the camp for the winter, later supplied the Christmas dinner. After preparing a camp built partly with the lumber from the scows which had carried the equipment, and then installing a boiler and erecting the derrick, three of the drilling party left for the South. Six men, headed by Boss Driller Emery Dubuc, camped there for the winter.

In July, 1920, this hardy group of drillers welcomed with open arms a second party of Imperial men, headed by Theodore A. Link, geologist, and A. W. Patrick, driller. When the second expedition arrived, they found their fellow-drillers had been living on nothing but fish and flour for a month.

It is in this district that one of the greatest wild-cattling stampedes ever known is looked for by Canadian officials. Not content to await the opening of the water routes during the coming summer, hardy prospectors started to "mush" their way with dog teams over almost unknown trails down the river valleys, having started their journey in midwinter in the hope of reaching Fort Norman a month or six weeks ahead of the vanguard which will start over the water routes in June and July for the purpose of staking claims in the vicinity of the oil strike. Some of those who are traveling over the overland route have not done so as a matter of choice, but because all the regular river boats are entirely booked up for the full season of 1921.

Airplanes for Oil Camps

Only the most sturdy pioneers can hope to invade this new oil district of the frozen North. Whereas the prospectors in our western and southern fields have been looked upon as hardy adventurers, those who go into the Canadian North must be men who are able to subsist on the land over which they travel. Those who cannot prove their ability to take care of themselves under any conditions will be turned back at the entrance to the northern trails by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. These famous policemen have strict orders to stop all who are not thoroughly prepared to withstand the rigors of the vast undeveloped northern region; and having in mind the casualties resulting from the stampede to the Klondike in 1898 they are careful to follow their instructions.

However, another group of lease-hunters is likely to invade the northern regions from the sky. Already the Imperial Company has two high powered airplanes ready to fly to Fort Norman, and it is expected that additional aircraft will be put into service during the summer. The airplane is likely to perform a very useful and important service in bringing supplies to the Canadian fields. Seeking to overcome the hardships and delays of river and land navigation, the Imperial Company purchased two J. L. Larson six-cylinder, all-metal monoplanes, equipped with 185 horsepower motors, with a maximum speed of 125 miles an hour and a non-stop flight radius of 1000 miles, capable of carrying one ton of freight and equipped with skis or pontoons. One of these planes was flown from New York to Edmonton, Canada, in a period of very bad weather by Captain May, a former member of the Royal Air Force. The other was flown from New York to Brandon, Manitoba, by Lieutenant Gorman. Both of these aviators, with their mechanics, have been engaged by the Imperial Company to man its planes.

The advantage of the airplane can more readily be realized when it is considered that under favorable conditions it requires four to six weeks to go down the rivers from the end of rail transportation to Fort Norman and almost double that time to make the return trip upstream, while the rivers are open only about three months each year. The difficulties of transportation are greatly increased by rapids in the northern rivers, making it necessary at several points to unload all cargo from the scows or barges and reload again after carrying the supplies overland. It is possible to float boats of four or five feet draught only, and the entire trip is filled with perils of transportation.

It is expected that airplanes will be able to fly from Peace River to Fort Norman in two jumps, and it is apparent that this will greatly extend the working time in the fields as well as expedite the shipment of supplies. Imperial Oil plans to construct a small still at Fort Norman which will supply its aircraft with gasoline; and it is also planned to install a wireless service which will make it possible to communicate quickly with the outside world. At present the nearest telegraphic wires are 1200 miles away.

Can the Oil Be Transported Profitably?

The most difficult problem in developing the northern fields is the transportation of

the oil. It would be almost impossible to move this oil to centers of civilization without the construction of a long pipe line. The difficulties of river transportation make it out of the question to carry large quantities of the commodity by boat. Certain interests have applied to the Dominion Government for a charter giving them the right to build a pipe line from the Mackenzie Basin to the Behring Sea, from which point the oil would be shipped in tankers. This plan is not seriously regarded by the oil men who are directly interested. They believe that any pipe line must be constructed to the south, probably to the head of Great Slave Lake, a distance of 900 miles from Fort Norman. The oil could be refined at this point or moved farther south by water and eventually by rail.

To those unacquainted with this northern field; the possibility of the oil freezing would probably arise as an almost insurmountable obstacle. But as Vice-President A. M. McQueen of the Imperial Company says: "Nature has been good to us. We find it impossible for the oil to freeze under any tests through which we have put it." At 95 below zero the oil does not freeze. This is apparently explained by the absence of paraffine, although the oil is of a very high quality containing 40 per cent. of the lighter products of distillation, such as naphtha, gasoline, and kerosene.

The difficulties of developing a field in the North are great, but are not insurmountable. Remember that Fort Norman is in the same latitude as Dawson in the Klondike, and remember how Dawson at the height of the gold rush grew to be a city of 20,000 people. The obstacles then were greater than to-day, when we have the airplane, wireless, and motorboat.

This northern country is undoubtedly a region of great natural resources and has big possibilities agriculturally. The latter point may seem strange in view of the long winters and short summers. In the summer, however, there are almost twenty-four hours of daylight, and plant growth is extremely rapid. Imperial Oil drillers were furnished with vegetable seeds when they went north and requested to observe closely the results of their planting. They found that peas planted early in June were ripe on July 23. By the end of July potatoes were ready to eat and grass was three feet high. The soil is a rich black loam. Some day this country may serve as a great agricultural district,

and the development of an oil field is likely to lead the way.

Other Canadian Oil Fields

But Canada's oil possibilities do not lie wholly at the edge of the Arctic Circle. The greatest drilling campaign in the history of the country is now in progress, and unlike previous attempts the present efforts are being guided by scientific advice after careful geological studies. The fact that the Imperial Oil Company plans to run four drilling outfits at Fort Norman this summer would indicate the importance attached to that district, but if a substantial field should be opened up at a point farther south it is likely that the commercial development of the Fort Norman field would be delayed for some time. Results from the drilling of several wells in Alberta and Saskatchewan, close to the United States border, are being watched with keen interest. Recent development of an important oil field in central Montana is regarded as a favorable indication of the existence of a large oil pool across the border. Geologists say that this general structure extends into Canada, and they cannot see why the international boundary line should interfere with the extension of this field. Incidentally, the Cat Creek field of Montana produces about the highest quality oil in the United States. It is this high-grade petroleum which is so eagerly sought.

For many years it has been known that millions of barrels of heavy asphaltic oil were locked up in the tar sands of the Athabasca River district. Dr. Bosworth states that in the district of Fort McMurray, on the Athabasca River, there is the largest natural exposure of oil in the world. The tar sand is a bed of ordinary sandstone 100 to 200 feet thick, saturated with heavy asphaltic oil. The area over which the tar sand is spread is at least 10,000 square miles and possibly almost 20,000. Dr. Bosworth estimates that it would be possible to extract from the tar sands three hundred thousand million barrels of oil, or six hundred times the world's present annual production. But it appears that after the asphalt is taken from these tar sands the oil would have to be extracted by distillation, a costly process unprofitable at present oil prices. It is unlikely that any serious attempt will be made to work the Canadian tar beds for some years to come, now that oil of unusual high quality has been produced in Montana and in the Mackenzie River Basin on a line

about 1500 miles distant, indicating that large resources of high-grade oil can be developed in this territory by further drilling.

The Canadian campaign is not being carried out in a half-hearted manner. In the words of C. O. Stillman, president of Imperial Oil, Ltd.: "Our object is to secure at the earliest possible moment a domestic supply which will make the Canadian petroleum industry self-contained and obviate its dependence on foreign sources of supply." What this means is partly realized when it is considered that Canadian industries have recently been purchasing over \$50,000,000 worth of oil per annum from the United States, and over \$100,000,000 worth of coal. The loss caused by the unfavorable exchange rate has been heavy, and the development of a substantial oil supply within the Dominion would have an important effect on the trade balance.

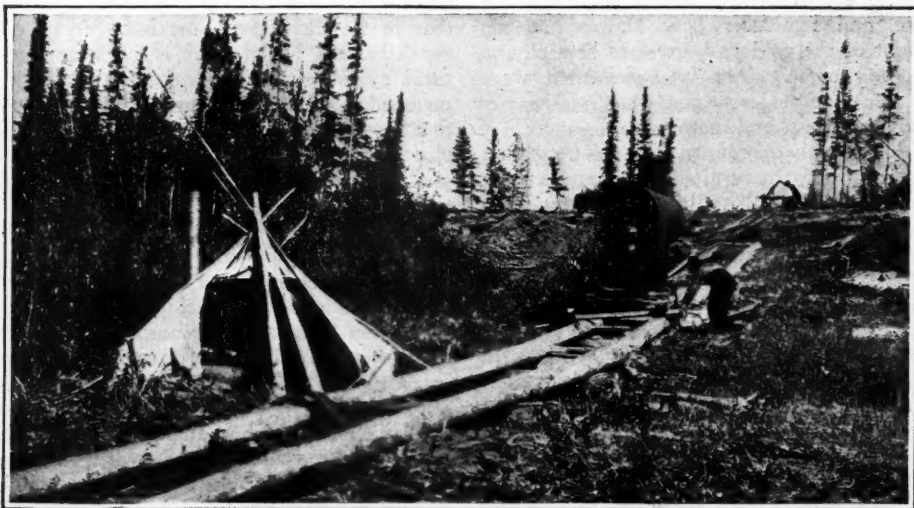
How the Land Is Leased

With a production of only a little over 200,000 barrels of oil yearly, or about 600 barrels a day in the Ontario fields, Canada has offered a bounty to oil producers and has followed a liberal policy to encourage development operations. But now with the opening of an important supply, the Government is changing its attitude.

The new regulations provide that an applicant may be granted a prospecting permit of four square miles instead of three as formerly. If oil is discovered the lessee is

allowed to take out a twenty-one-year lease for one square mile, or an area not greater than one-quarter of that covered by the prospecting permit, the remaining three-quarters to remain Government reservation. One form of title provides that the prospector can obtain a permit on an area of 2560 acres for a period of four years, and another provides that in the event of oil or gas being discovered one-quarter of the area covered by the permit may be leased at a rental of 50 cents an acre for the first year and \$1 for the second and third years. Royalty on production has been placed at 5 per cent. for the first five years and 10 per cent. thereafter.

As a result of the Canadian oil boom, the public of both the United States and Canada is likely to be flooded with new promotion schemes. Canada has experienced oil booms before. The last one took place at Calgary, Alberta, in 1914. Five hundred new companies were formed in three months. The production of stock far outstripped that of petroleum. Recently two hundred of these companies were written off the list because they had failed to file returns. Only forty or fifty have made regular returns up to the present time. There seems little chance for the survival of companies engaged in Canadian oil development unless they have large resources; and the public will do well to steer clear of any but established companies, which are not dependent for their existence upon the drilling of a well or two.



HAULING THE BOILER INTO PLACE AT OIL CREEK IN THE FORT NORMAN DISTRICT



OKLAHOMA SOLDIERS' STATE MEMORIAL, AT OKLAHOMA CITY, BY PAUL W. BARTLETT, SCULPTOR;
LAYTON, SMITH AND FORSYTHE, ARCHITECTS

WAR MEMORIALS

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT



DISTINGUISHED SERVICE
MEDAL—NAVY—BY PAUL
MANSHIP

DURING the World War, America was articulate in patriotic oratory, journalism, and the poster, and now that the war is over she must become articulate in her memorials—in sculpture and architecture.

It will take ten years, perhaps (France is to wait twenty years), before the great National Monument is begun; but in the meantime it is quite proper that local memorials should be erected without further delay.

These local memorials will take many forms—symbolic and utilitarian—small medals and towering monuments—and every State will express itself, as will thousands of townships and cities.

What form should these monuments take best to "carry on" the spirit of 1917-1919? is a question that is now being debated by civic committees from Maine to California.

The Commission of Fine Arts in Washington issues a leaflet relating to "War Memorials" wherein it lists "types" of memorials as follows:

A Flagstaff with Memorial Base; a Fountain; a Bridge; a Building devoted to high purposes; Tablets; Gateways; Symbolic Groups; Portrait Statues; Medals; Stained Glass Windows; and the Village Green.

A single glance at this list sends the brain soaring up into the realms of great artistic achievement.

And our illustrations, though they are hastily gathered, indicate that each of these fields is being exploited.

But they must not be taken to represent all that our designers are doing. They are simply an index of the resourcefulness of our sculptors and architects.

The most vital phase of the whole subject of War Memorials is the question, Should the utilitarian memorial prevail? Of course there will be many cases where the mere arch or sculptural group will be appropriate, as in public squares and parks, just as the flagstaff or fountain will be appropriate in limited space in front of present

buildings; but when ample sites are available, where entirely new parks are laid out, and when large funds are subscribed, and the whole State or city is to be represented, the Community Building, serving the daily needs of the people, has a large claim as against the mere artistic effigy.

The War Camp Community Service and many other organ-

izations are pushing this claim.

There is absolutely no cause for any conflict whatever between the advocates of the two seemingly separate plans. They need not be separate at all. The utilitarian building wherein is housed the cafeteria may have the most artistic façade imaginable. Under the illustration of a design of the "Soldiers' Me-



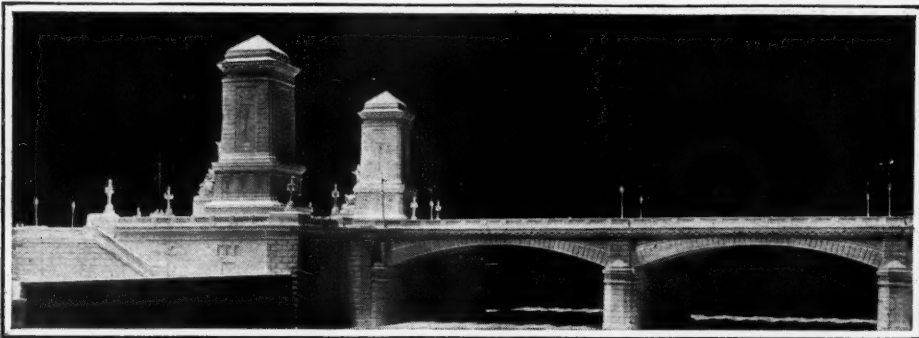
THE "DOUGHBOY," BY
EMIL ZETTLER
(For St. Luke's Parish
House, Evanston, Ill.)



MEMORIAL TABLET AT POMFRET SCHOOL
(CONNECTICUT), BY A. A. WEINMAN



THE "DOUGHBOY," BY
ALLEN G. NEWMAN
(For the Sixth Ward of
Pittsburgh, Pa. ©)



MEMORIAL BRIDGE APPROACH TO HARRISBURG, PA., CAPITOL PARK—DESIGNED BY ARNOLD W. BRUNNER
(Upon the two large Pylons will be sculptural groups)

morial," Pittsburgh, Pa., printed in a pamphlet issued by the Boston Society of Architects and the Boston Society of Landscape Architects, is quoted the following dictum that seems to cover the ground very fully:

If the utilitarian structure shall be used, it is of first importance that it shall impress the beholder by beauty of design, the permanent nature of material used and the fitness of the setting. What shall be done is less important than the manner in which it is done.

Charles Moore, chairman of the National Committee of Fine Arts, quotes Mr. Cass Gilbert as saying:

The most impressive monument is one which appeals to the imagination alone, which rests not upon its material use, but upon its idealism. From such a monument flows the impulse for great and heroic action, for devotion to duty and for love of country.

Since Mr. Gilbert is the architect of the Woolworth Building in New York City, which is a striking example of the adaptation of the monumental forms of the past (the Gothic) to the business building of to-day, it is not likely that he would quarrel



STATUE OF COL. RAYNAL C. BOLLING,
BY E. C. POTTER

(Being erected on the beautiful grounds of the public school in Greenwich, Conn., where Colonel Bolling lived)

with any building whose facade is impressive in its idealism merely because the interior of the building is used for the needs of the community.

Heroes in Bronze

Edward Clark Potter's noble statue of Colonel Raynal C. Bolling is, artistically speaking, one of the most successful American efforts to commemorate the Great War. Colonel Bolling was a brilliant and attractive figure in business, in the profession of law and in his contribution to our American aviation program in the war, and he was, as well, the first American officer of rank to be killed in the World War. E. C. Potter, Bolling's fellow townsman, had been a collaborator with Daniel Chester French in many well-known public statues, and is himself probably the most notable American artist in equestrian subjects. Fired in imagination by the spectacle of Bolling, a comparatively young man in a great career, giving all, including his life, to the nation's fine impulses, Potter on his own initiative made a small model of the memorial which so impressed the people of Greenwich, Conn., where Colonel Bolling had lived, that they



"BROTHERS IN ARMS," BY CAPT. ROBERT AITKEN
(In the Alpha Delta Phi Club of New York. It represents the American and Canadian comrades)

arranged for the construction of the memorial and its acceptance by the town.

Adolph Alexander Weinman has long been associated with national and civic medals and statues and he stands for the "practised hand" in those fields.

In his Pomfret School Tablet, for the George Newhall Clark Memorial Chapel (Pomfret, Ct.), he has combined a classic and a modern rendering, and has made a feature of the color element, for the figure is bronze gilt in relief upon a warm Sienna marble background.

Mr. Weinman is the designer of the Government's Victory button.

In the New Rochelle monument, the figure by Edmond T. Quinn, the architectural and landscape gardening effects by Louis R. Metcalfe, form a background of dense foliage and a pool in the foreground to reflect the monument that will combine with the sculptor's work to make an effective civic ornament. It will be remembered



A FLAG POLE AS WAR MEMORIAL

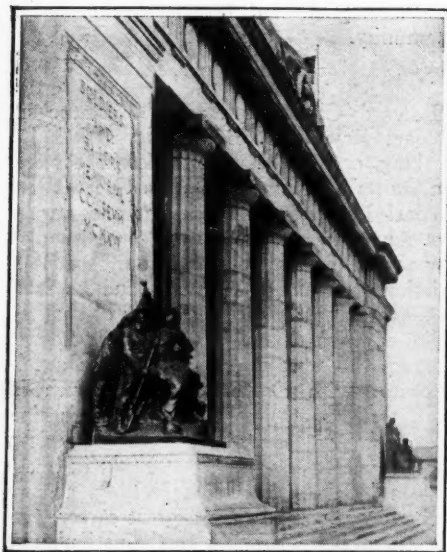
(Combining dignity, simplicity and usefulness. To be dedicated by the citizens of Queens, N. Y., on the Fourth of July)

that a pool reflecting the monument has been used by Mr. Henry Bacon most strikingly in connection with his Lincoln memorial in Washington.

Architectural Forms

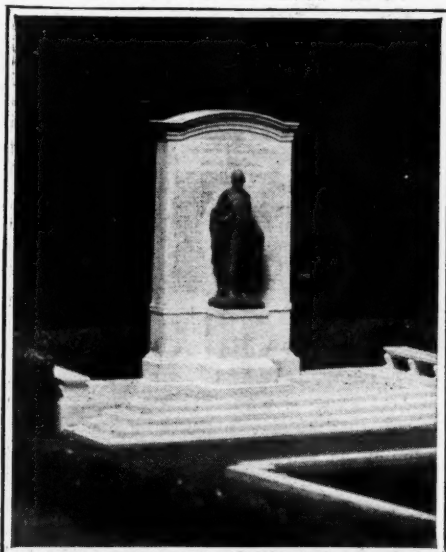
In McLaughlin Park, Brooklyn, stands a simple tablet by Denby and Nute, and forms a dignified if modest memorial.

An equally simple memorial, but very satisfactory in its purpose, is a flagstaff that forms the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial in Queens, N. Y. It was designed by the architect Robert von Ezzdorf, the first lieutenant to go overseas from Queens. The flagstaff is of steel, rising fifty feet high, set in a granite parapet upon which will be inscribed the names of those who entered the service from that community. The memorial is placed in the center of a triangular parked approach to the village's public school, an inspiration to the young and an appropriate setting for patriotic ceremonies.



THE COMMUNITY HOUSE AS A WAR MEMORIAL

(Many cities and towns have adopted this type of memorial. The building shown here was erected at Evansville, Ind., in memory of those who fought in the Civil and Spanish wars. Clifford Shopbell & Co., Architects)



NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., MONUMENT, BY EDMOND T. QUINN

(Landscape architect, Louis R. Metcalfe. The monument will be backed with a dense group of trees, and reflected in a pool)

Robert Aitken's "Brothers in Arms" is part of a plan that may recommend itself to many a committee. The commission comes from the Alpha Delta Phi and the original bronze will be placed in the chapter house in New York, but other castings will be made that will allow replicas to be placed in the twenty-five chapter houses throughout the United States and Canada. This is an admirable arrangement. A larger sum is thus available for payment to a single sculptor than there would be if each chapter house employed a separate sculptor, and so a man of higher standing may be commissioned. Each chapter house virtually will possess an original bronze, since the successive castings are practically all similar.

In the same way all the castings from a medalist's wax model are similar, and so we are reminded of the service done for art by the American Numismatic Society, and other



MEMORIAL AT 139TH ST.
AND 3RD AVE. (NEW YORK)
BY BOWDOIN & WEBSTER

art clubs, in issuing commemorative World War medals by such designers as Victor D. Brenner, J. E. Fraser, Laura Garden Fraser, Chester Beach, A. de Francisci, Daniel C. French and Allen Newman.

Besides the Victory button by Mr. Weinman already mentioned, the Government has issued a number of medals. The Victory Medal was designed by James E. Fraser, the Aviation Badge by Herbert Adams, the Distinguished Service Medal for the Army by Captain Aymen Embury, for the Navy by Paul Manship.

Two important Brooklyn monuments by Augustus Lukeman are just now being installed; the large memorial in Prospect Park, and the animated figure in Red Hook Park.

The artist's sketch of the War Memorial for Oklahoma City, Okla., shows the vigorous modeling of Paul W. Bartlett. It is a happy combination of architectural and sculp-



WAR MEMORIAL—RED HOOK PARK (BROOKLYN,
N. Y.), BY AUGUSTUS LUKEMAN ©



"THE AVIATOR"

(Monument to James Rogers McConnell at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Gutzon Borglum)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

tural design. The architects are Messrs. Layton, Smith and Forsyth.

"The Doughboy" and the Aviator

It was, of course, inevitable that the "Doughboy" should loom large among war effigies. The name is synonymous with what is picturesque and, best of all, it is untrammelled in subject. We publish two "Doughboys," one on the Parish House of St. Luke's Church, Evanston, Ill.,—the first war memorial erected in or near Chicago—by Emil Zettler, and the other by Allen Newman for the Sixth Ward of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Gutzon Borglum is a picturesque figure among American sculptors. He may

always be counted on to conceive something out of the ordinary. His "Youth Taking Wings in the Battle for Liberty" is a charac-



SARATOGA PARK (NEW YORK CITY) WAR MEMORIAL, BY JAMES NOVELLI



BOROUGH OF RICHMOND (N. Y.) PLAQUE, "THE GLORY OF THE FLAG," DESIGNED BY ALBERT WEINERT



HONOR ROLL TABLET IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MERIDEN, CONN., BY LEWIS A. GUDEBROD

teristic conception. This was one of the first monuments, perhaps the very first, to be erected to an American aviator, and is a memorial at the University of Virginia to James Roger McConnell, an aviator in the Lafayette Escadrille, who was killed in battle a year before the United States entered the war.

There are a great number of American cities like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and San Francisco, built upon many hills, so that the bridging of highways is a prime factor in their municipal improvements. Such a bridge or viaduct is to be built as an approach to the Harrisburg, Pa., capitol. At the end of this bridge Arnold W. Brunner has planned for two large pylons on which will be placed important sculptural war memorials. No doubt other cities where viaducts prevail will see the wisdom of taking advantage of these very natural points of interest and making them the spots for war memorials.

It is through the kindness of Mr. Hermon A. MacNeil, the well-known sculptor, that

we have obtained the photograph of "The Marine," by Joseph M. Lorkowski, of College Point, N. Y. Mr. MacNeil says:

This is made not only after a serious training in art, but also after Mr. Lorkowski had served two years in this particular branch of the service (the Marines), and it strikes me as a very sincere performance. The original is in the Marine Barracks in Washington, D. C.



THE MARINE, BY JOSEF M. LORKOWSKI
(In the Marine Barracks at Washington, D. C.)

It will thus be seen that our sculptors are all working with a fine sense of comradeship toward the common cause of "sincere" art expression, whether it be from the hand of a veteran or from the hand of a newcomer in the field of design. And much credit is due the Commission of Fine Arts at Washington, D. C., and the art commissions of many States, and of most large cities, as well as the American Civic Association, for their advice and coöperation when consulted in reference to memorials. Art commissions will be discussed in a special article by Andrew Wright Crawford in a subsequent number of this magazine.

The Community House as a Memorial

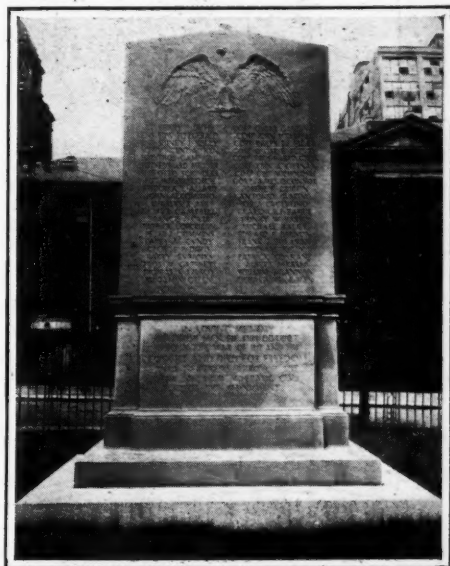
The high cost of building material has delayed the erection of many community houses as war memorials, but no doubt a year or two hence will see the completion of hundreds of such buildings throughout the country, for which there exist many architects' plans.

The illustration we give of the Doric



107TH INFANTRY, U. S. A., MEMORIAL FOR 66TH STREET AND FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, BY KARL ILLAVA

building at Evansville, Ind., does show such a memorial, though it is not dedicated to the soldiers of the recent war; but the building has been so acceptable to the people of Evansville that they have made plans to erect a similar community house as a world war memorial.



MEMORIAL IN McLAUGHLIN PARK, BROOKLYN, N. Y., DESIGNED BY DENBY AND NUTE

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

ON THE FAMINE FRONT IN SHANTUNG

A GRAPHIC report of famine conditions in Shantung, the Sacred Province of China, from the pen of John J. Heeren, appears in the June number of *Asia* (New York). From this survey it appears that the principal Chinese agencies for relief have been the measures adopted by the Shantung-Chinese Famine Relief Society, and the construction of the Weihsien-Chefoo Road, about two hundred miles in length. The most important foreign efforts have been associated with the maintenance of soup-kitchens by the British-American Tobacco Company, the collection and distribution of money and grain by the International Auxiliary of the Shantung Famine Relief Society, and the building by the American Red Cross of a new road seventy miles long.

The Chinese Society was the first on the

ground to undertake to feed the starving. At the same time it has carried on the most extensive investigation yet made of the afflicted districts. On the basis of the data collected the Society has already allotted \$185,000 to thirty-two counties and the money has been distributed in each case by committees of local gentry appointed by the county official. In addition, the Society has in hand about \$90,000, of which \$50,000 is being used to purchase the right of way for the Tehchow-Lintsing Road under construction by the American Red Cross.

The Society's arrangement for bringing grain into the famine districts is interesting. It is assumed that the grain dealers can best handle the grain, and the Society promises to furnish the dealers, through the help of the military governor, all the cars necessary



A POSTER ISSUED BY THE SHANTUNG CHINESE FAMINE RELIEF SOCIETY

(It is called Famine News Letter No. 1, and it tells graphically how the people who live along the Yellow River have been driven to eating bark and leaves in order to keep alive)

for transportation, in return for prices that allow only a fair profit. The result has been that prices have dropped, even in places fifty miles away from the railroad. The distinguishing characteristic of this Society is that its money, according to its own official report, "is distributed equally among all sufferers, because it is impossible for the Chinese to show discrimination." The foreign societies help only as many as they can tide over until the next harvest. The Chinese organization helps everyone for the time being, even if, in the end, it should save none.

The Weihsien-Chefoo Road is being built as a relief measure, and will at first be used for motors, but eventually will serve as a railway roadbed. It is built from the proceeds of the railway tax collected by the central government. The skilled workmen employed in this project are men recruited from the neighboring villages, and the unskilled laborers are famine refugees.

The International Auxiliary of the Shantung Famine Relief Society was organized last October by the English and American residents of Tsinan, and has two members of the Board of the Chinese Relief Society working on its committees. It is working in thirty-two very needy counties, and has eighteen foreigners, both Protestants and Catholics, in the field. It distributes money rather than grain.

The American Red Cross has established headquarters at Tehchow, the terminal of the road which the Red Cross is building by means of famine labor. This construction work provides employment, food, and health supervision for an increasing number of families in an area where suffering is very great, and at the same time promises the transportation facilities that help to prevent famine. In connection with the road-building, the Red Cross is feeding about 20,000 persons. After the whole road has been opened and the necessary 10,000 men have been set to work this organization will be feeding about 50,000 famine victims.

As suitable food for the workmen and their families, the commissary department has adopted the Manchurian soy bean, which is reasonably cheap and rich in food value, as the mainstay of the rations. The commissary hauls the food to the various stores along the road and sees to it that every man gets his rations every day and that his family secures its allotment of food once a week.

In concluding his article Mr. Heeren states that more than a million persons in the Red Cross area, and more than 3,000,000 in the non-Red Cross area of Shantung, are in dire need. It is estimated that it will take \$28,608,940 to keep them from death by starvation, typhus, relapsing fever or cholera.

ITALY'S COMPLIMENTS TO UNCLE SAM

EX-PREMIER NITTI, of Italy, in the course of an article published in the Roman Daily, *Il Tempo*, deplores the short-sighted policy by which the Treaty of Peace has been inspired, especially in regard to Germany and Austria. As to the latter, the Entente seems to have hardly realized the fact that Austria was necessarily threatened and is now undergoing the most appalling famine and is faced by utter financial ruin.

He thinks that but one country in the world can point the way to a real recovery, and this is America. The fact of refusing to subscribe to the Peace Treaties and of keeping her hands free for single agreements with the ex-enemies, allows her every opportunity for pursuing a line of conduct formulated according to a wider and more objective

view of the actual requirements of the international situation.

By discarding all violent methods and openly aiming at economic and moral restoration, she will be able to mark a new departure in the muddles of after-war policy. Neither Great Britain, nor France, nor Italy, who have severely suffered from the war, are in a position to set a similar example. The United States can realize, though in a somewhat different form, the ideals that had moved President Wilson in his unfortunate enterprise and which, if put into practice, would make America one of the foremost countries in the world. Such a new course, according to the writer, ought to start with a treaty with Austria, in order to restore her to life and to the productive capacity that she had before the war.



A TRAINING CLASS ON SHIPBOARD

THE NAVY AT SCHOOL

IN the course of a series of articles contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, of Philadelphia, former Secretary Josephus Daniels makes a spirited defense of his famous General Order of 1913 which established schools for the enlisted men of the Navy, both ashore and afloat. After an experience of more than seven years, during which this order has been in effect in our Navy, the former Secretary declares that the increased interest in reading and study among the enlisted men is as marked as the improvement in engineering and ordnance.

Fond as they are of sports and liberty, many of the men, says Mr. Daniels, permit no recreation to crowd out the reading and study which lead to promotion. The ambitious sailor seeks out the technical books which lead to his advancement. Aboard ship, the men are encouraged to make the most of themselves. Beyond the mere training of men to perform their daily duties in the Navy, the educational system is planned, also, to fit them so far as practicable, for any trade or profession that they may select.

The order to which we have referred, together with General Order Number 63, which gave the details for carrying out the policy, provided that every day, except Saturday and Sunday, all enlisted men not well grounded in the common school branches

should attend school. Officers were ordered to give instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, geography and history, as well as in practical and technical subjects. The men were provided with text-books, and those who were ambitious to qualify for promotion had opportunities for special instruction.

When the system was put in effect (January 1, 1914) it was criticized in and out of the Navy as impractical. It was even predicted that the Navy would lose its enlisted personnel if they had to go to school, as it was believed in some quarters that most boys who enlisted in the Navy did so in order to escape going to school. The shallowness of this argument was quickly exposed, for desertions from the Navy fell to the lowest point, and enlistments increased so rapidly and were of such good material that before long the quota of the Navy was filled, and there was a waiting list—something never before known in the Navy's history.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Daniels freely admits, naval tradition was against the school, and there were officers to whom the prospect of teaching the three R's was not particularly attractive. Moreover, there were some of the enlisted men who lacked ambition to learn. In course of time, however, the new system vindicated itself. The story

is told of an officer, assigned to teach geography, who, at the outbreak of the World War, drew a map of Europe showing in different colors the Central Empires and the Allies. As a result of this instruction, says Mr. Daniels:

When America entered the World War every man who had followed that officer as he graphically told the story of the European conflict knew far more about the field of action and the war than the average man ashore; knew why we entered the war and what we were fighting for.

To an objection made by one of the critics of the system in its early days, that a coal-passer would not be satisfied shoveling coal if he once got the idea of an education in his head, the Secretary had replied:

I hope he will not be satisfied. It is part of the plan to give him more knowledge and therefore better skill, so that while he is a coal passer he can do his job better. But we do not wish any American boy to be satisfied all his life to remain a coal passer. We wish him to have

his mind fired by ambition so that he will study to become a gun pointer, a mechanic, a petty officer, a warrant officer, a commissioned officer, and, if he has the brains and the stuff, to be able to win his stars and be advanced to the rank of an admiral.

Mr. Daniels was and is a firm believer in education as a means to efficiency. He declares that he never saw an educated blacksmith, who could not, other things being equal, shoe a horse quicker and better than an illiterate blacksmith. On the principle that knowledge helps efficiency in every field of endeavor the former Secretary says:

Give me a fleet manned by educated and ambitious men, who have trained minds as well as trained hands, in any engagement with a fleet equally strong in material, manned with an uneducated and untrained crew, and the latter fleet is as sure to be sent to the bottom of the ocean as that mind triumphs over brawn. Every sea victory has been won by superior intelligence allied with dash and courage. Knowledge gives confidence, and confidence helps to win battles.

NEW TYPES OF IMMIGRANTS

IN spite of the impressive statistics of recent immigration to the United States, the managers of employment offices have noted for some time the dwindling proportion of day laborers among the fresh arrivals from Europe. In *Collier's Weekly* (New York) for May 7 Stanley Frost and Natalie De Bogory attempt a survey of the new type of immigration, from the standpoint of our industrial and social life. They show why it is that the recent marked change in the character of the Ellis Island arrivals is not reflected in the Government statistics. The immigrant is taught to give his occupation as "laborer" because that is the safe and simple thing to do to avoid possible conflict with the regulations enforced under the "contract labor law." Those interested in bringing immigrants here look after that.

The writers of the article in *Collier's* were impressed by the growing number of "intellectuals" among the new immigrants:

Properly speaking, these people are not immigrants at all, but emigrés, though many of them come in the steerage as well as in the cabins. They are people who have been used to social standing and fair incomes, salaried people mostly who have recently found themselves starving on depreciated money. Officers, teachers, doctors, scientists, writers, artists—each class in thousands, they are suddenly giving an entirely new

complexion to the incoming stream. They come from all countries, but the largest group is that of Russians fleeing from the Soviet terror.

These are the people who bring dangers and benefits of a new kind. The servants can hardly be classed as an economic menace.



Paul Thompson

AN ARMENIAN IMMIGRANT

Among the better-class newcomers there are also many merchants, but they are valuable. We need them to help carry on our expanding foreign trade.

Nor is there danger from the women and children. Quite otherwise. They are the families and the wives, present or to be, of men already here, and will be well taken care of. They increase the stability of the foreign element.

But the coming of the thousands of "intellectuals" is a different matter. They bring the dangers and benefits of immigration to a class of Americans hitherto untouched by it. A very large proportion of them have a fair command of English, and they are already making themselves felt in certain fields. In that of writing, for instance, a glance through any month's magazines, or through the papers on any Sunday in New York, will show how many of the recent arrivals have broken into the literary market. Many are finding places in our colleges and universities, others in laboratories and engineering

departments. Recently a refugee biologist from Russia was chosen, against American competition, to make a detailed study of one of the most important American waterways. From all these has come a distinct and important reaction upon and among American brain workers.

As to the assimilability of this element, the writers say:

These people are highly cultured; they consider themselves superior in birth, brains, and breeding to anyone in America, and most of them bring with them a vast contempt for everything American except our dollars. They have worked out their philosophies of life, and American ideals have no place in them. Most of them do not know, and few have any wish to learn, the fundamentals of American thought. They pick up the surface flaws readily enough, and dig no deeper.

BRITAIN'S COAL

THE disturbance in England's coal-mining industry gives point and timeliness to the article in *World's Work* (London) by Ellis Barker:

Before 1914 Britain absolutely dominated the coal trade of the world. Germany exported coal only to her Continental neighbors, and the coal export trade of the United States was small, although it had been steadily growing.

The United States exported its coal principally

across the border to Canada and to a few countries in the vicinity of the Republic.

Now things are changed. In 1920 America's coal exports exceeded those of Great Britain, and the Republic had become the principal purveyor of many faraway countries where England had hitherto possessed the undisputed and apparently indisputable monopoly.

It is largely true that British industry, commerce, banking, finance and shipping owe their place to the abundance and cheapness of British coal. The *London Review of Reviews* thinks that if this fact were understood, nationally, and appreciated fully, the coal troubles of England would be tackled in a less sectional way than they have hitherto been treated, and that the whole nation, instead of waking to the importance of coal only when their domestic scuttles are empty, would be moved, by sheer self-preservation as a nation, to see that the industry was no longer left to be merely a battle-ground at frequent intervals between the coal owners on one hand and the miners on the other. Both parties, owing principally to the national crime of short and narrow sight in such matters, are to blame, but neither is so culpable as the public who know, yet do not stir themselves, to see that their greatest material possession is made to do its proper work for the national welfare.

Mr. Barker concludes:

The coal-mining industry must once more be placed upon an economic and self-supporting basis. If production per worker should be increased adequately, English coal can recover its position in the world.



POOR OLD FATHER!

(First it's one, then another, and sometimes it's all three)
Bairnsfather in the *Bystander* (London)

M. POINCARÉ'S COMMENT ON CURRENT EVENTS

IN the last number of his fortnightly chronicle in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) ex-President Poincaré hails the approaching end of the Germans' "desperate maneuver, tried in the hope of cutting off the new American government from the Allies, and prompted by the same psychological misconception that was constantly shown by the treatment of the United States during the war." The memorandum "crumbles into a mere heap of base lies and stupid slanders" at his approach. Especially resented is the charge that the French are neglecting to restore the northern departments, and settling the natives elsewhere, to keep their grievance before the world. Such utterances would not have been tolerated for an instant from the Emperor himself in his most lordly days.

Mr. Hughes' reply, assuring Germany that we stand shoulder to shoulder with the allies in their demand for the fullest reparation possible, is approved as worthy of that "great and honorable man, eminent jurist, conscientious and honest advocate." But M. Poincaré speaks gravely of coming difficulties with us in arranging the mandates, interpreting the clauses of the treaty concerning the League of Nations, adjusting the American peace to the peace of Versailles, etc.

M. Briand's announcement is described as due notice that "On May 1st Germany will be legally declared in default on several of her chief obligations: disarmament, punishment of the guilty, and reparations." If she makes further attempt to evade her pledges, a "strong hand will fall on her collar." In that case "each nation is free to obtain her own guarantees." But France has no desire or expectation of having to act alone. The cynical remark follows, that "Germany rather than France should be placarded with this proclamation. . . . We must not draw back from coercion, whatever efforts Germany may make meantime to

divert the Allies or deceive America. . . . France desires only what is hers and she desires all that is hers."

M. Poincaré approves no less warmly M. Briand's stern words on Constantine's return and the blinded Greeks, who in their defeat are to expect no French intervention. As to Charles IV, whose attempt had found a few French supporters, he speaks most interestingly and with first-hand authority. Charles was sincere and had good intentions when he

wrote his cousin Sixtus on March 24, 1917. He confessed his helplessness in William's hands, which made his demand for secrecy defensible. But his silence as to Trent and Trieste could not but offend Italy, and Sonnino insisted that the discussion be broken off. But in April, 1918, Charles denied that Alsace-Lorraine had been mentioned at all. "A lapse of memory, or dread of Germany? I cannot say, but the letter did exist. I held it in my hands and copied it faithfully, by the permission of the prince, who has now published it in photographic reproduction."

It is clearly pointed out that Charles on the throne would inevitably be the rallying-point for Magyar resentment and aggression, and would excite the constant fears of the long-oppressed peoples of the new nations all about him, and even of Italy. He cannot but be a reminder of the past. The Hungarians, complaining of unsettled conditions in Central Europe, are likened to "a man

who has filled his house with explosives, and after the catastrophe is amazed to see it torn to bits." In a broad review of conditions then and now in the lands of the old Austrian Empire, the ex-President gives his hearty assent to the principles of nationality and consent of the governed, and sternly deprecates the first step toward any revival of the Hapsburg régime that led the way to war and disaster.

The writer remarks, in closing, on the



Wide World Photos
M. RAYMOND POINCARÉ,
EX-PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

progress made since M. Thiers, in 1870, could see "in the principle of the consent of the populations, as applied to nationalities, only a source of disturbance."

M. Poincaré offers in his own career a most happy solution of the familiar problem:

"What is to be done with ex-Presidents?" The veteran in his retirement, like an old sea-captain on his cupola, sweeping the horizon, foreseeing the storms afar and enforcing advice by warnings from his own experience, is more inspiring than any word he can utter.

A EUROPEAN ANALYSIS OF BOLSHEVISM

IN an illuminating article contributed to *La Revue de Genève*, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk analyzes the inherent weakness of the Bolshevik program, which because of its very nature could be carried out only by violence and virtual dictatorship by the official leaders. There is hardly another man in Europe as well qualified by scholarship and experience to discuss Bolshevik Russia as the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. Students of Russian affairs will recall his book, "Russia and Europe," written before the upheaval in Russia, which as Dr. Jan Herben wrote in a review of Dr. Masaryk's works, "became a key even to the recent Russian revolution."

In a few terse sentences Dr. Masaryk shows how wide is the gulf between present-day socialism, as expounded by its recognized exponents throughout the world, and the black travesty fathered and maintained by Lenin in Russia:

The Bolsheviks are for the revolution at any cost. The Western Socialists and especially the Social Democrats are opposed to the Russian revolutionary methods. Hence the Bolsheviks are attacking them with violence, reproaching them by the accusation that their object is only the reformation of society, that they do not recognize the necessity or the legitimacy of an upheaval by force. Lenin himself, Radik and others regard Kautsky with a special enmity. But besides Kautsky and Bernstein, nearly all the Socialist leaders of the entire world have been thrown over by the Bolsheviks—not only the Russians like Plekhanoff and Martoff, but also Otto Bauer, Frederic Adler, Hilferding, Ledebour, and others, not forgetting the German Scheidemann, nor among the French, Longuet; in England, all the Labor Party, and obviously the Fabians; in Italy, Turati; in America, Hillquit; as a matter of fact, the entire world.

Lenin condemns them all as being opportunists. . . . They have falsified the doctrines of Marx and transformed the revolutionary principles of Marx into a "bourgeois reformation"; he condemns them also because of their fears and because of personal cowardice, notwithstanding the fact that certain of these men have at the risk of their lives fought against Czarism and passed many years in Russian prisons and in exile in Siberia.

Dr. Masaryk does not agree with the champions of the proletarian revolution of Russia that the doctrines of Marx have been perfected and carried out by Lenin. He declares that both Marx and Engels finally abjured, at least in part, their doctrine of the necessity of violence in effecting social transformations.

Marx and Engels, it is true, believed that the final revolution and the fall of capitalism was imminent; in their communist proclamation they declared that Germany was on the eve of a revolution of the bourgeoisie, to which would succeed immediately a proletarian revolution. Later they recognized that their views on the world-situation were false and they postponed the revolution. . . . Engels, a short time before his death, bequeathed to the German proletariat his political testament. In it he gave advice in conformity with the spirit of Marx, *i. e.*, to abandon the methods of force and to carry the fight with greater ardor to the field of the electoral platform. Once a majority could be acquired with the people and with parliament, the way would be made easy to obtain the temporary dictatorship over the proletariat.

During the period of his greater political lucidity, Marx considered that in countries such as England, America and Holland, the social revolution could be accomplished without recourse to force. He declared this in a specific way in 1872, in his speech at Amsterdam immediately after the Commune of Paris. In view of the importance of this passage I quote from the original:

"The workman must some day have the political power in his own hands to give a new basis to the organization of labor; he must pull down the old political ideas maintained by the old political institutions unless he wishes to renounce the sovereignty of this world as did the early Christians who neglected it and despised it. But we have not affirmed that the means to attain this object should be everywhere the same. We know that we must take into consideration the institutions and customs of different localities, and we do not deny that there are some countries, like America and England, and if I am well enough acquainted with your institutions, I would perhaps add Holland where the workman could arrive at this object pacifically. However, this is not the case in all countries."

Dr. Masaryk thinks that the Bolsheviks have made the revolution a "fetish," that they are duped by their own temperaments:



A BAD OMEN

LENINE TO TROTSKY: "Look here, I'm afraid our Soviet stronghold is going to fall down. The rats are running away from it."—From *Mucha* (Warsaw)

The Bolsheviks are the victims of romanticism and revolutionary mysticism. The revolution is for them a revelation and for the greater part of the people, in the true sense of the word, a fetich. . . . The revolution becomes in their eyes the supreme object. They are incapable of administrative labor; they dream of great deeds, or simply of great gestures and vainglorious words. . . . Lenine continues to affirm that they are not able to work like the Western nations. In this Lenine is more right than he had thought to be; the Russians still preserve their ancient aristocratic prejudice which disdains work and effort, and the Bolshevik represents the inferior level of culture where brutality reigns supreme.

The Bolsheviks have shaped themselves in exile; they have lived outside the pale of the law; they have utilized the methods of all secret societies and organizations. They have grown, as it were, in this tradition of revolution with its roots of terrorism and anarchy, and they cannot rid themselves of its imprints. This point of departure explains the faults of the Bolshevik administration (which is in truth an improvised administration), of governmental dilettantism, of the want of a well thought out plan in advance, of the absence of continuity. Even to-day, Radek recommends to the Socialists of Western Europe that they create secret and illegal societies. Here again is the difference between Europe and Russia. The Europeans are more positive of their ground; they know how to work calmly, and they know how to create. They consider the revolution realistically, without mysticism or romanticism.

But the Bolsheviks do not know and have never known how to work; they know how to force others to work. Their régime has introduced the servitude of the bourgeoisie—the

bourgeois being defined arbitrarily—and also the servitude of the workmen. They know how to fight, kill and die, but they do not know how to work with application and with continuity. It is for this reason that the Russian revolution has had and persists in having a political rather than an economic and social character. It was accomplished by taking advantage of the defeat of the Czar's army. As soon as Lenine had declared that the war must be stopped at any price, the masses of the military came over to him. The soldiers were of two kinds. On the one side were those who had seen during three years, the horrors of an unfortunate war, soldiers tired, hungry, demoralized by defeat; on the other hand were the recruits of the new army wholly without discipline. All of these acclaimed the ultrapacifism of Lenine. It is due to them that Lenine has conquered and not because he understood, as did Marx, the world situation of socialism and capitalism.

I affirm after long reflection and after deeply considering all the facts, that the Bolsheviks are in fatal error. First of all they do not understand that the progress and the morale of European nations show that these nations have rejected methods of violence and in consequence, aggressive wars and revolutions. The humanitarian European point of view admits of wars and revolutions only when their defensive character is evident. Furthermore, the Bolsheviks do not understand that their country in its backward state is not constituted for a communistic régime, neither is it the type of country to obtain this régime by means of a revolution.

In Europe we are able in a measure to work out our necessary social transformation peacefully. For us there is no need for a violent revolution, still less one of Russian terrorism.

A FAMOUS PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK IN DANGER

NO monuments left by the so-called "mound-builders" are more famous than the Cahokia group of mounds in Madison County, Ill., a few miles from St. Louis. According to Brackenridge, who visited this spot in 1811, there were then in the group "forty-five mounds or pyramids, besides a great number of small artificial elevations." A majority of these still remain in a fine state of preservation. They are of various shapes—square, rectangular, round and oval. In the center of the group stands the great tumulus known as the "Monks' Mound," the largest prehistoric earthwork in the United States. It derives its name from the fact that a colony of Trappists lived in its vicinity from 1810 to 1813.

Writing in the *Geographical Review* (New York), Prof. Thomas H. English, of the University of Wisconsin, declares that these relics of antiquity are in grave danger of sharing the fate that has overtaken the other mounds that once stood on the present sites of St. Louis and East St. Louis. The industrial towns of East St. Louis and Collinsville lie on either side of the Cahokia mounds, and unless something is done promptly to save the latter they will probably be broken up into factory sites.

Although archaeologists are now generally agreed that the "mound-builders" were the Indians themselves, and not an earlier race of mankind, much mystery still attaches both to the age of their work and the purposes for which the more imposing mounds were intended. There must have been, as Professor English says, some extraordinary motive dictating the erection of the immense Monks' Mound, as the greater part of the drift clay of which it is composed must have been carried in baskets from the bluffs, two miles away. According to the "Handbook of American Indians," the building of this mound would have required the labor of 1,000 persons for nearly five years, with the means that prehistoric Indians had at hand. Professor English says of the Monks' Mound:

It is rectangular in form. According to the survey by William McAdams (results published in 1883), the base dimensions are 998 feet from north to south by 721 feet from east to west. It covers an area therefore of about sixteen acres. Later surveys have assigned respectively 1080

and 1010 feet as the length, and 710 feet as the width. The difficulty of determining the line of junction of the lower edge of the mound with the level of the plain is chiefly responsible for the variation. The mound is built in a series of four receding platforms, the highest of which is 100 feet (97 feet and 104 feet in the later surveys) above the ground level. The mound is *strictly* oriented with the longer side of the base in a right north-south line. The lowest terrace extends entirely across the southern face, and to the east of the center there is a projecting point which may originally have been a graded approach. The long north-south terrace on the west is badly gullied, and a modern road leading to the top of the mound cuts off one corner. In spite of years of erosion, however, all outlines are surprisingly clear.

This type of truncated pyramidal structure was named by Squier and Davis, the pioneers in this field, the "temple mound." Cahokia then would be most nearly allied with the *teocallis* of Mexico, and it has been conjectured that on the highest platform of the Illinois mound burned the eternal fire to the sun god as on *Tolula* and *Teotihuacan*. Furthermore, Cahokia, because of its huge dimensions and the regular beauty of its construction, deserves comparison with the pyramids of Egypt as well as with those of Mexico. There was, however, no stone used in its building; it is merely a great heap of drift clay and sandy loam. Cahokia, *El Sol* at *Teotihuacan*, and *Khufu* at *Gizeh* are all straight with the points of the compass. Their base areas are respectively sixteen, thirteen, and thirteen acres, with base dimensions 998 by 721 feet, 761 feet square, and 756 feet square. Cahokia is 100 feet high, *El Sol* 216 feet, and *Khufu* 481 feet.

The great tumulus has never been explored. Mr. Thomas T. Ramey, who purchased the land fifty years ago and whose heirs still own it, took great pride in his possession of this impressive monument of antiquity, fenced it off from his cultivated fields, and carefully guarded it from the sacrilegious spades of relic hunters. His sons have likewise taken care that it should suffer from neither plow nor mattock. The "big mound" at St. Louis contained a large sepulchral chamber in its interior, but whether Cahokia has such a secret to reveal is yet unknown. That there was an extensive burying ground about it was discovered when Mr. Ramey, in ditching the field to the east, dug down through a deep stratum of human bones.

Concerning the danger that now threatens the Cahokia mounds the writer says:

A bill authorizing the purchase by the State of the most important part of the tract was introduced in the Illinois Legislature on March 12, 1913, but it came to nothing. A long campaign, waged by associations formed in St. Louis and in the towns of Madison County, Ill., the county in which the mounds are situated, was unable to extricate the proposal from the welter of politics. Discouraged by their failure to interest the State



Photo by Gordon Servant

THE GREAT CAHOKIA MOUND ("MONKS' MOUND")

in the purchase, after many years of unavailing effort the owners are now treating with an East St. Louis realty firm, who may dispose of the land on which the mounds stand to the large manufacturing concerns which are already drawing close to them.

It is disheartening to think of what may then happen. There were originally four groups of mounds, on both sides of the river. The growth of St. Louis obliterated the very landmarks that had given her the name of the "Mound City." The town of East St. Louis, on the Illinois bank, destroyed a second assemblage. The mounds of

the Long Lake group, twelve miles north, have been shoveled down to grade the roadbeds of several railroads passing that point. It is not yet too late to save the Cahokia mounds, but in a few years more it certainly will be. The Peabody Museum of Harvard University saved the Great Serpent, of Adams County, Ohio, when it was threatened with destruction. It is greatly to be hoped that some institution or association will come to the rescue in the present instance, before wanton destruction overtakes one of the great monuments of primitive man in North America.

THE UNION OF CENTRAL AMERICA

THE new "Federal Republic of Central America" at present consists of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica. The absence of Nicaragua is attributed to a desire to study the question more closely before joining. Later Panama will probably be asked to come into the Republic. The new nation has a population of about 4,100,000, an area of 101,164 square miles; its annual foreign trade with the U. S., including both exports and imports, is approximately \$45,000,000.

Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, ex-President of Honduras, recently spoke before "El Instituto des las Españas" at Columbia University, analyzing the problem of reconstruction in Central America and showing the economic and geographic reasons for union.

Maximo Jerez, said Dr. Bonilla, holds that the realization of a Central American Union "is the sole cause for which one can fight and die in Central America." With this conclusion, he continued, all people who speak the Spanish language and, generally speaking, all the American nations will agree—for a united Central America means

the rebirth of a nation financially strong which will attain a better position in the universal concert of nations.

One of the chief reasons for the Federation is found in the bettering of communications that will result. A new canal, to relieve the Panama Canal, is almost certain; this will be constructed in Nicaragua. Geographically, Central America occupies a most important position in the Western Hemisphere because it is a narrow isthmus between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Railroad communication is unsatisfactory to-day because important links are lacking. A railroad runs from the Mexican frontier across Guatemala to the frontier of Salvador; it is not united to the line traversing this country because a recent President of Guatemala was averse to the joining. This line is now being constructed and will soon be a part of the projected Pan-American line. These states united, a short connecting line in Salvador will furnish a continuous railroad to the east of the Union. Thence the Pan-American plans to build across Honduras to Chinandega in Nicaragua. From



THE FIVE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, FOUR OF WHICH CONSTITUTE THE NEW FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Chinandega there is a railroad to Granada—whence another line will be constructed to connect with the road from Punta Arenas to Limon (in Costa Rica). No technical difficulties forbid this. Once constructed, all state capitals will be joined, except Tegucigalpa—which is connected by a fine automobile road with the Pacific. Later a branch will be built to this capital.

Thus the argument of the separatists, that means of communication between the states is lacking, is refuted. The early history of the United States proves that lack of communications can be overcome and offers no insuperable barrier between states.

Under Spanish rule and since the freeing of Mexico and Central America (1821) the present members of the Federation (as well as Nicaragua) have been closely allied. At times they have separated—to come together again for mutual protection. Though previously no permanent union has resulted, it has always been urged by the best minds of these countries.

Other old and new world nations have been formed, and have lived, but in none of them are found the strongest points in the Central American Federation: one language, one religion, and racial equality. Even the United States has some 15,000,000 negro citizens whose social position is uncertain. The descendants of the Spanish, the *mes-tizos* and the Indians of Central America are all equal—there is no race question.

No opportunity can arise for unfair discrimination in taxes because all states produce nearly the same things. This makes

the economic chances for success ideal in the new republic.

The wars between the five states have been "intestine" wars. Such strife has resulted in the failure of Central America to attract immigration and to progress, for immigrants shun unstable countries. A continuous union since 1821 would have resulted, probably, in a population of from twelve to fifteen millions!

Dr. Bonilla believes that the benefits to be gained by a United Central America are as follows:

- (1) Peace will be assured and maintained, due to stronger armies, which can act quickly and energetically.
 - (2) The country can be better advertised as a place suitable for immigration, as a large country attracts more attention than a group of small countries.
 - (3) Economy in government will result because government expenses will be reduced, due to centralization. Money thus saved can be spent on development. Better diplomatic representation throughout the world can be maintained, at less expense.
 - (4) Credit will be vastly strengthened and augmented. The abolition of import duties between the states of the union will lead to better business conditions.
 - (5) Commerce, agriculture and all industries will grow, since with confidence foreign capital will enter and domestic enterprise be encouraged.
 - (6) Government will be strengthened because the federal government—controlling the army—can enforce justice. All conflict of authority will be resented by the tribunals of justice.
 - (7) The civilized world will benefit through the guaranteeing of peace in Central America. The United States, in particular, will be benefited because its great ports of San Francisco and New York are equidistant from the Federation.
- Finally the danger of intervention in the various states will be eliminated, avoiding the difficulties of the various Caribbean republics. Intervention may result in the conquest and complete submission of the republic involved.

History has shown that the chief obstacle to successful union came from the personal ambition of leading statesmen—or men who desired to become leaders. Happily to-day that danger is negligible.

The refusal of Nicaragua to subscribe to the pact is a new obstacle, as formerly it was a member of the various unions. Nicaragua contends that nothing in the new pact should repudiate any treaties that this state

has with the United States (and in fact such guarantee is given.) Should Nicaragua have the power, however, to negotiate a treaty directly, the death of the new union would be certain. Nicaragua may come into the union later, as it is clearly to the advantage of

every one of the Central American states.

In conclusion, Dr. Bonilla said that he believed that whatever its structural faults the new Federation marks a great step forward in the final realization of the Central American ideal.

WAR DAMAGE TO INDUSTRIAL FRANCE

IN any consideration of the nature, extent and amount of the systematic destruction wrought in France during the World War by the Germans, it is interesting to seek the point of view and the authority of those presenting alleged facts for discussion. How this systematic destruction of the coal mines, textile works, railways, roads and canals in northern France appeared when examined and discussed by engineers is told in an interesting description of a recent meeting of the Société des Ingénieurs Civils de France, held on March 21, given in a late issue of *Engineering* (London). This meeting, called especially to consider this important topic, was presided over by M. Millerand, President of the Republic, and the papers presented dealt not only with the damage but with the restoration of normal conditions and future improvements and developments.

In regard to the destruction of the coal mines and the work of reconstruction as now being carried on, it was stated by M. P. Guerre that the damage to coal mines alone

might be summarized as follows: Damage to surface works—houses completely destroyed, 1800; houses partly destroyed, 1200; railway tracks destroyed, 800 kilometers (497 miles); power capacity destroyed, 380,000 horsepower. Damage to underground works—number of pit shafts dynamited, 140; volume of water to be drained, 110,000,000 cubic meters; underground galleries to be rebuilt, 2800 kilometers.

In April, 1917, after Vimy, in addition to a large zone of mines devastated by gunfire, there was complete and systematic destruction of the mines and shafts involving untold damage. In these Courrières mines the shafts reach the coal-bearing strata after penetrating through a water-bearing zone and a layer of clay impervious to water, requiring for the shaft a continuous lining of wood or sheet iron through the water-bearing section. In the case of one mine a shaft so damaged that there was a daily inflow into the mine of over 52,000 cubic meters of water per day of twenty-four hours involved a situation so serious that within a



From the *World's Work*

REBUILDING OPERATIONS IN FRANCE—FRENCH WORKINGMEN BECOMING SKILLED IN THE USE OF CONCRETE

few weeks the entire mine would have been flooded.

One shaft in particular, badly damaged, was taken for repair, while the others were patched up temporarily before complete flooding occurred. The shaft selected for treatment had been practically demolished and from the crater formed by the explosion of high explosives the major part of the debris was excavated, the shaft filled with earth, and then a cylindrical casing surrounding the shaft was formed of cement, some 4000 tons being required, and the work extending from August, 1919, to April, 1920. This was followed by a sheet-iron lining sunk down until it met the lower existing portion of the shaft. When completed eight electrically driven 550-horsepower pumps, with a monthly capacity of 1,200,000 cubic meters, were installed to remove the water.

Notwithstanding that this present equipment of electrically driven pumps is provisional at this and other shafts, it was believed that the greater part of the levels of the Courrières Company's collieries would be practically free of water in the course of the present year. In addition to the extraordinary mine salvage work, the housing situation was taken up. On March 1 there were available 2015 dwellings and 620 in course of construction, and 2165 were to be completed by the end of the present year, giving a total of 4800, as compared with 5893 in July, 1914.

All of this served to increase the output of coal which, averaging 650 tons a day for February, was expected to reach 1000 tons a day for March, and 3000 tons before the end of the year. In this connection it was stated that all the collieries in the liberated region of France require to be equipped afresh with the whole of the surface plant in every detail, and every separate level has to be rebuilt entirely. There is being introduced a standardized machinery to an extraordinary degree and especially electrical machinery driven by current generated in company plants to an extent never before employed is to be installed. Finance and labor are the two most serious questions, as with an individual efficiency 27.3 per cent. less than in 1913 it will be necessary to employ at least 35,000 more than the 130,700 colliery workers at the beginning of 1914. In view of these considerations it is hardly likely that northern France can approach near the pre-war coal output before the year 1925.

M. M. Marriage, president of the Federation of Master Spinners of the Fourmies district, discussed the textile industries in view of the same problems, stating that as soon as the Germans occupied the northern departments of France, not a single wool-combing machine was left throughout the country; there remained in activity throughout the land only 160,000 combed wool spindles out of 2,400,000; only half the total of 700,000 carded wool spindles; only about 11,000 weaving looms out of 55,000. The installations at Rheims were destroyed by gunfire. Those at Roubaix-Tourcoing were damaged in the German hunt for copper, and in various other ways. The Fourmies district remained practically the whole time away from actual fighting range and did not suffer from gunfire, but the destruction by hammer, pick, dynamite, and fire was complete; the Fourmies woolen plants having always proved most serious competitors of those of Germany.

The enemy reached the district on August 26, 1914, and left it on November 9, 1918. When they arrived there were seventy-five textile works in full activity; they destroyed all except five combed wool spinning plants, one carded wool spinning plant and one combing plant. The steam engines were broken or otherwise damaged, the boilers removed and rendered unserviceable, the safes were broken into and all records of manufacture, samples, reference data, representing thirty years of activity, removed to Germany. Eighty-eight per cent. of the spindles and the whole of the weaving machinery were destroyed. This applies only to the Fourmies district, and the German action in that district meant the destruction of over one-third of the spinning capacity and over one-fourth of the weaving capacity of all France.

It is satisfactory to note that the engineers in charge are working actively at the reconstruction of their plant, but the machinery and spindles remain as yet very much below the pre-war figure, owing to numerous difficulties caused by lack of material of all kinds and lack of coal. No less satisfactory is the fact that the spinners and weavers are working heart and soul as navvies and builders until they are able to resume their pre-war trades.

At this meeting, also, the means of transportation in the invaded regions was discussed by M. A. Moutier, of the North of France Railways. Besides several thousands of miles of ordinary track-work destroyed on both the North and East France Railways, the bridges destroyed—both masonry and steel—numbered over 1100, there being hundreds of stations and other plants to be completely rebuilt. In this connection, also, reconstruction is proceeding apace.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE ON IRELAND AND THE WORLD'S PEACE

IN Lord Northcliffe's opinion a solution must be found for "the deplorable but not necessarily insolvable problem of Ireland" before England can cope with the other problems confronting her in Europe and within her own imperial bounds. In the *Nineteenth Century* (London) for April, he says:

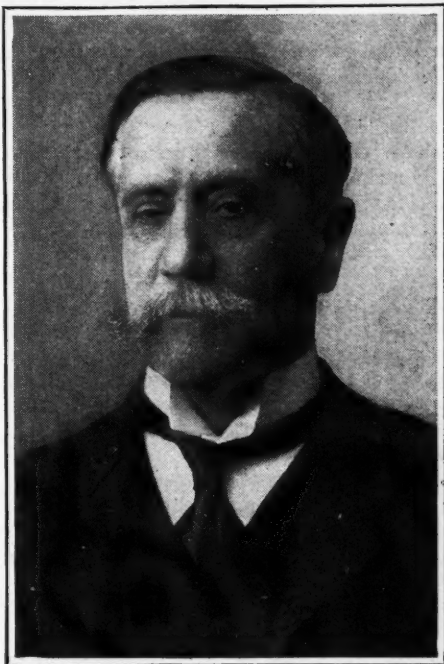
I am convinced that a settlement will eventually be reached, and that Ireland will then become more prosperous than at any time in her history; but this can only be when the English public realize, the futility of maintaining by force, and under worldwide condemnation, an obsolete form of government such as we have always been the first to denounce in foreign empires. It is no use for us to assure ourselves that we must always be, because we always have been in the right, and that if we only persist long enough in the course into which we have drifted, the world will come to admire our skill in statecraft; nor can we gain anything by arguing about the inevitable.

Lord Northcliffe regards the period immediately following the armistice as that in which British politicians let slip perhaps the greatest of all opportunities to readjust the relations with Ireland.

I recognize that the hands of the new Parliament were too full to permit of legislation in regard to Ireland before the summer of 1919. But legislation was not essential. What was necessary, and what might have been given, was an assurance on the part of ministers that they intended to approach the Irish question in the spirit of the peacemaker, and that they were prepared generously to recognize those Irish claims to which the debates of the Convention had given expression.

Turning to the measures adopted by the government in Ireland, it is pointed out that coercion, if it is to succeed at all, must succeed rapidly, and in Ireland the critical moment has long passed. Sinn Fein is even becoming habituated to the very strong measures which have been taken to suppress it.

The government generally assert that their antagonists in Ireland consist of a relatively small number of "gunmen," by whom the population are terrorized; and that, if these can be removed, the Irish people will spontaneously revert to the friendly attitude maintained by Nationalist leaders throughout the war. There could be no greater mistake. The expert "gunmen" do exist, and, in my opinion are supported by foreign money. But every Irishman knows that the ultimate demands of his country are unalterable, and that the "gunmen" are but an incident, if a dreadful one.



© Keystone View Co.

LORD EDMUND TALBOT, IRISH VICEROY UNDER
THE NEW ACT

(Lord Talbot, the first Viceroy of the Roman Catholic faith, took office on May 3)

There will come a lasting settlement in Ireland only when the normal demand of the Irish people is satisfied.

To my mind, that demand is for complete autonomy within the Four Seas of Ireland. The demand for a Republic seems to me unreal. Ireland does not wish to maintain an army, still less a fleet; but Ulster is a problem, disregard of which has shipwrecked many well-meant attempts at a general settlement. Still, that problem is by no means so great as it was. Thinking men, Ulster Unionists and Sinn Feiners alike, must now realize that Ireland cannot remain permanently divided, and that the question is susceptible of solution, though it may be delayed, by Irishmen and in Ireland. Nay, a solution is inevitable once Ulstermen have realized and are prepared to confess their own dependence upon the rest of Ireland, and once the rest of Ireland has realized, as it has not yet, the strength of Ulster and its value as an integral part of the Irish nation.

No settlement can now be reached, Lord Northcliffe fears, except through a truce, the necessity for which becomes hourly more apparent.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAL RATES

THE widespread disturbance of international exchange values has made it necessary to seek for an equitable adjustment of the postal rates from one country to another. This question was thoroughly discussed at the recent Congress of the Postal Union held in Madrid, in the new and spacious Palacio de Comunicaciones of that city. The main results and some of the problems involved are given by Torqueto Carlo Giannini in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

The differences in value among the currencies have stimulated speculation in the sending of unstamped letters. When in Austria, for instance, double postage amounts to much less than does single postage paid in Switzerland or Spain, it becomes a saving to send unstamped letters from these latter countries to Austria. The provision that such letters should be forwarded to the addressee arises from the presumption that the lack of a stamp is due either to the impossibility of buying one, or else to some accidental cause, and the payment of double postage appeared, formerly, to be a sufficient guarantee against an abuse of this indulgence. When, however, the double postage is in reality only one-fifth, or even one-tenth of the single postage, the situation becomes entirely changed, and whoever sends a letter without stamping it and reimburses the recipient for his actual outlay in double postage, saves two or three times what he would otherwise have paid for stamps.

The two most important questions before the Congress concerned the transit charges and the postal tariff. Under the term transit charges were comprised the compensations to be allotted to the countries which transport on their railroads or steamships, through their territory, or from their ports, the mail destined to another country. When this is sent directly from one country to another on its borders, each country keeps for itself the returns from stamps or registrations, as it is calculated that the outgoing and incoming mails balance each other; but when the mail has to traverse an intermediate country the conditions are very different. Some lands, such as Switzerland, for example, are so placed that foreign mail going from east to west, or vice versa, must pass through this intervening territory. In this case a just recompense must be awarded, varying according to the means of transportation and the length of the transit.

In regard to this matter two diametrically opposite views were represented at the Congress, one party favoring an increase of the compensation heretofore given, while the other party urged that it should be decreased. In the former congresses also, Italy had, even against her own interest, thrown her weight on the side of those favoring a reduction, animated by the conviction that the interchange of letters, etc., should be encouraged in every possible way, and that the tax for transit ought to constitute a kind of toll, rather than a reimbursement of the expenses actually incurred.

Some other states, especially those of America, went so far as to favor the total abrogation of this charge. For quite a time there has existed a sort of tacit understanding between the Hispano-American countries, fostered by the community of race and language, and this is constantly becoming closer. The United States fully realizing the political and economic importance of this grouping, has considered it opportune to take a place at the head of this movement. The Postal Congress of Madrid has just given an occasion to affirm this attitude in an official way, and at this Congress there has been concluded by the American states among themselves, and by all of them with Spain, a special postal agreement which, besides other clauses, embraces one providing for gratuitous transit, and this constitutes a not unimportant factor in a good understanding with Spain.

The final determination by the Congress as a whole was to preserve the present status with a few slight modifications. However, it was found to be exceedingly difficult to adjust the reciprocal amounts to be paid by the respective countries for this transit toll. After long debate, the conclusion was reached that the standard of value should be that of gold in the countries in which its sale was not subjected to restrictions, where the bank notes were convertible into gold on presentation, and where the rate of exchange was higher than in the other countries. This pointed clearly to the present position of the United States.

Thus there was taken as a basis the equivalence of \$10,000 with 51,825 gold francs. The determination of this equivalence was necessary to relieve those countries in which the franc or lira was current, from the obligation to conform to the rule of charg-

ing but 25 centimes for a postal unit, whilst Germany and the other lands not using the franc were permitted to raise their rates as they pleased. As, however, even those countries whose currency was near parity in gold, also urged the privilege of demanding a higher rate, in order to offset the added

expenditure due to the rise in wages and materials, it was decided to establish a new maximum unit rate of 50 centimes gold for letter postage, each country being allowed to determine whether, or how much, it would raise the rate, always within the limit of this maximum.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN FRANCE

NOW that the eight-hour law is in force throughout France, the question agitating educators and economists is: What is the best use to which the workman can put his eight hours of leisure, and how can he be made to realize the importance of his part in the great whole? Mme. Moll-Weiss, in a most interesting article in the *Revue Mondiale* gives it as her opinion that the people will have to be educated up to it., and this education will have to begin in the kindergarten.

During the war, salaries and wages soared beyond all reason, the joint earnings of a family totalling no mean sum. And yet the laborer did not seek to improve his living conditions. He bought more and choicer cuts of meat, better grades of wine, and his wife bought furs, perfumes, and other luxuries, but with the exception of a few level-headed people who invested their savings in government bonds and real estate, he never attempted to put by anything nor did he change his place of abode. He seemed to have grown so accustomed to the ill-ventilated, badly furnished lodgings that served him as home that it never occurred to him that he might easily have far more sanitary and cheerful surroundings, did he but desire them. Except for the purchase of an ice-chest—typical of the spirit of affluence among the working classes—and a piano, even though he could not play it, the hovel of pre-war days remained the abode of the well-to-do laborer.

This is not to be wondered at, however, for who had taken the trouble to awaken in his mind any love for the beauties of nature, or appreciation of famous paintings and statues, all the birthright of every man? And how is it to be expected that this man who did not know how to make the best use of his money should know how to employ his extra hours of leisure to the best advantage?

Will he spend them in long political discussions over his glass of wine at the cabaret? Or

in acquiring a general and technical knowledge? Will it be in hours of supplementary work destined to accrue to the benefit of his family, or in athletic sports that will tend to develop him physically? In short, will the workman be the gainer or the loser by this new law?

The French Educational League considered this matter of paramount importance, and it was made the subject of discussion at the Congress of Amiens. The main purpose of the eight-hour law which obtains among most nations was to equalize the production in the different countries. Thus, the nation whose laborers make the most scientific use of their free time will have an advantage over the others. The different countries have not been giving this matter too much thought. Belgium has started a special review called *Education and Recreation*; Germany has established a vocational school at Frankfurt; England seems to concentrate on city gardens; and France on civic forums and community houses. But the one most closely concerned, the laborer himself, does not seem to attach enough importance to the way his leisure time is spent.

It is with the kindergarten period of childhood that this education should begin. In bright, sunny rooms, with enough teachers to give individual attention to the little ones entrusted to their care, a wholesome regard for cleanliness and order should be inculcated in the children, not in theory, but in actual practice. They should be taught to know and love flowers and animals and beautiful pictures and music. The primary school should continue this training, taking the children for walks to show them the objects they have seen only in pictures up to this point. To show the need for such excursions, this little incident is cited:

A charming little girl of eight years was traveling in the same carriage with me. Suddenly she spied a little waterfall rippling gaily away at the side of the road. "Oh, Mamma!" she cried, "it looks just like the picture on the post-card, but I never saw one alive before!"

These excursions will broaden the workman's vision, give him an incentive toward outdoor sports, take him out of the narrow little rut he lives in. Later the manual school should instruct him in all kinds of homely but useful tasks, such as mending shoes, making a good soup, sewing on buttons, and darning socks. The educator's work is not completed until he has instilled into the child's mind new and vital needs. He will find hygienic and attractive surroundings quite a necessity to him, and in the event of finding himself deprived of them, will set to work to acquire them. In this way some of his free hours will be spent, and some in outdoor activities. If in addition to this he is fired with the desire of becoming daily more proficient in his trade, then, truly, his leisure time will be well spent.

To imagine for a moment that it would suffice just to tell the laborers of to-day that they should increase their knowledge, arrange and beautify their homes, go in for sports—that would be Utopia indeed! It would only be a select few who would respond to our invitation.

As our friends, the Belgians, have observed, the organizing of the hours of leisure will have to pass through different stages before it finally arrives at the one we may hope for, but which to-day would scarcely appeal to the masses. . . . Not until our youth shall understand the fine and productive laws of community spirit will it really be capable of a serious effort, and sincerely desire to use to the best advantage the hours of leisure.

The character of the laborer's day will have an influence on the use of his free time. When his day is divided by the hour and a half or two hours for luncheon period, his free time is considerably shortened and, incidentally, his pocketbook is heavily taxed, for meals at restaurants in the company of friends cost considerably more than much better ones eaten at home. Then, too, the women seem to have been weaned from their home duties.

During the War a lady opened a workshop. Struck by the large amount of money her workers spent in the restaurants at noon, she offered them the use of her room and stove to prepare their own luncheons, each one taking her turn in marketing on her way to work, cooking the meal, and washing the dishes. The experiment lasted just two days. While appreciating that these meals were better, and that there was a saving of fifty per cent., the women decided to discontinue it because none of them liked to prepare the vegetables nor wash the dishes.

Could the English day, that is, cut by a quarter-hour respite—time enough to eat a

sandwich—be introduced into France, the saving would be tremendous, and the two principal meals could be taken at home. This has obtained for a long time in England, but the English are essentially different from the French and the customs and habits of the latter may be too deep-seated to change. It has been tried out in several instances and the results have been satisfactory.

The opinions of various eminent physiologists and medical men add interest to the foregoing. In general, they seem quite in favor of the short lunch hour. Professor Labbé deplores the habit of the Frenchman who begins work on an almost empty stomach. A substantial breakfast is a necessity before facing the cold of winter. Then, a heavy meal in the middle of the day makes him dull and sleepy for the afternoon's work. He advocates a lunch of a meat, a vegetable, and a sweet, and the heavy meal at night. He even recommends a break at five o'clock for "teas" for the heavy worker. When working, the least possible time should be lost, and the food should be such that it sustains the muscular strength. Before and after work the tissue-building food may be eaten.

M. Pierson, of Paris, believes that no general rule should be made until the right man is in the right job. The most efficient and scientific results will be obtained, both for the laborer and employer, with no waste of energy. He is in favor of frequent rest periods which must be determined in frequency and length by the type of work being done.

M. Frois, on the other hand, recommends the long lunch hour, together with frequent rest periods. He believes that workmen's lodgings should be erected near their work, or that model lunch rooms could be opened in connection with the factory, where nourishing food could be had at a nominal cost. Also, he suggests that the French follow the example of the English in another respect—that of providing for the comfort and relaxation of their employes during their rest periods. A contented workman is apt to be a good one.

Abbé Lemire approves most heartily of garden work for the employment of the laborer's leisure time. He considers it most beneficial from every standpoint, physical, economical, and social. And what more fitting than that the land those soldiers of France so nobly defended should be cultivated and made to yield a rich harvest?

THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE PROBLEM

ARE we to have a world language as some compensation for the World War through which we have passed? This query is answered rather doubtfully by Paolo Bellozza in *Rivista d'Italia* (Milan). The writer evidently has little sympathy with any of the artificial languages that have been proposed for the achievement of this end, and he does not hesitate to reject Esperanto and its later modifications.

However, with laudable impartiality he cites Tolstoi's enthusiastic commendation of Esperanto, of which he said: "It is so easily studied that having secured a grammar of Esperanto, a vocabulary and a few pieces of literature, I was able in a little over two hours' time, if not to write it, at least to translate freely into it. Hence the effort required for its study is so slight, while the results to be attained are so great, that all should make this test."

This Signor Bellozza shortly dismisses as an example of Tolstoi's fondness for paradox, and in opposition he quotes the criticism of Novikov, who notes how frequently the words adopted in Esperanto from one or another of the living languages are so much deformed as to render them of little help to those familiar with those languages. Moreover, the Esperantists among themselves are no longer agreed as to their language, and a considerable number have given their adhesion to a modification of the original form, on which they have bestowed the name "Ido," signifying "son," or "descendant."

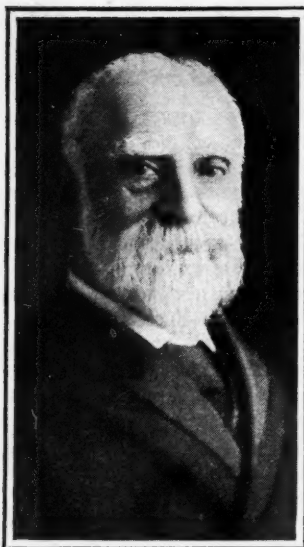
Concerning the difficulties in the way of any similar movement, the writer declares that an artificial language bears in itself the germs of rapid and certain dissolution, for language is a vital organism. Now the use of an artificial tongue will either be limited to a relatively small group of persons, in which case it will fail to attain its object, or if it comes into general use it cannot escape the process of evolution and differentiation to which every idiom is subject, by what has been called "the attrition of use." Of this we have innumerable proofs in past history, a not uninteresting example being one noted by Dante, who wrote that in the city of Bologna those living in the section Borgo San Felice spoke differently from those residing on the Strada Maggiore, and he also asserts that if a former inhabitant of

Pavia should rise from the dead, he would not be able to understand the speech of his fellow-citizens of Dante's time.

Of the element of weakness inseparable from the differences of pronunciation between the various languages of our day, the writer recalls that at the Cambridge Esperantist Congress of 1907, the Frenchmen found the same difficulty in understanding the new tongue as spoken by the English as they realized when the latter tried to speak French. It is precisely this uncertainty of pronunciation which militates against the apparent simplicity of the words formed by trifling modifications of a common base in "Ido," where, for instance, *parolar* means "to speak"; *parolo*, "word"; *parola*, "oral", and *parole*, "orally"; but as the differentiating vowel is a final, and is not accented, in rapid speech it would scarcely be seized by the ear. These difficulties would be greatly augmented if any attempt were made to spread the new international language over countries where, as in China, several of our phonetic elements are entirely lacking in the native tongue.

Turning from the question of an artificial language to the chances that one of the spoken tongues may become a world language, the writer finds that if we accept the principle that where there is a tendency to unity of civilization there is also a tendency to unity of language, we may forecast the advent of an epoch signalized by a single homogeneous civilization, if not in the entire world, at least over our entire continent to which will correspond a single language.

In what way this will come about is not discernible; perhaps by slow processes of evolution, so slow as to be scarcely perceptible, by means of which the prejudices, jealousies, suspicions and rivalries will ever grow less, until they finally disappear. To this will contribute undoubtedly the more frequent contact between the different peoples, not only in what concerns commerce, but in the whole range of human activity. This will lead to a better mutual understanding and appreciation among the peoples, to a progressive interpenetration and assimilation of the various ethnic and cultural elements, resulting finally in a complete equalization and fusion, which will also manifest itself in language.



VISCOUNT BRYCE
("Modern Democracies")



© Pierce, Boston
COL. E. M. HOUSE
("What Really Happened at Paris")



MR. ANDRÉ TARDIEU
("The Truth About the Peace Treaty")

THE NEW BOOKS WORLD POLITICS

What Really Happened at Paris. By American Delegates, with a foreword by Colonel E. M. House. Charles Scribner's Sons. 526 pp.

An especially timely and useful book about the Peace Conference at Paris has resulted from a series of talks recently given under the auspices of the *Public Ledger* in the Academy of Music at Philadelphia. These were no ordinary statements, but were highly authoritative from the American standpoint. Under the editorship of Colonel House and Professor Seymour of Yale, we have as a result of these talks or lectures a volume of first-class importance. Many specialists were attached to the American Peace Commission, and some of the foremost of these are responsible for the eighteen chapters of the book. Colonel House and General Bliss were among the speakers, as were Mr. Herbert Hoover, Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, and Admiral Mayo. As specialists upon particular boundaries or particular regions, chapters are contributed by Professors Clive Day, Charles H. Haskins, Robert H. Lord, Charles Seymour, Douglas W. Johnson, Isaiah Bowman, William L. Westermann, and Manley O. Hudson. Mr. David H. Miller writes of the League of Nations, Professor Young, of Harvard, on the economic settlement, Mr. James Brown Scott on the responsibility of the Kaiser, Mr. Samuel Gompers on labor clauses of the treaty, President Mezes, of New York, on the general preparation for peace, and Colonel House upon the treaty itself in retrospect. Exhaustive treatment is impossible by this method, but, with its

documentary appendices, the volume as a whole has significance and value.

The Truth About the Peace Treaty. By André Tardieu. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 473 pp.

Mr. Tardieu's volume has the great advantage of appearing at a moment when stock in the much-condemned Treaty of Versailles has been making swift and buoyant advances on an international market which has changed its tone of depression for one of optimism in the most surprising manner. Individuals in their work in the Peace Conference have been disparaged in some books and vindicated in others; but this book by a brilliant Frenchman is the first thoroughgoing and powerful defense that has been made for the treaty itself and for the whole performance that was achieved under the leadership of the Big Four, or to speak more accurately, the Big Three, for large decisions were made by Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson. Next to Clemenceau, Tardieu himself was the foremost French figure in the shaping of the essentials of the treaty of peace. For many years he had been known as a brilliant political journalist, and during the war period he was French High Commissioner in the United States and a foremost leader in the conduct of the work and in the statesmanship of France. When, before the middle of May, it was known that the Germans had completely accepted the revised figures and terms of reparation, agreeing also to complete disarmament in good faith

and to observance of other parts of the treaty, it began to appear that perhaps after all the work at Paris and Versailles was not so dismal a failure, but, upon the whole, a very remarkable success. It is the practical end that crowns the labor; and when the United States began to show interest again, and the Germans, influenced by Washington, decided to submit and take their medicine, the treaty began to command new respect.

It would be quite impossible to analyze in a brief note the contents of Mr. Tardieu's book, but it may be said with emphasis that no reader who desires to restudy the story of the Peace Conference can possibly find any other single work so valuable and so well informed as this one written in stanch defense of the part taken by France. With a mass of strong arguments and cogent presentations, the book is also enriched with many fragments of official and documentary material; so that it must hold prominent place in the record of great contemporary transactions. It will soon be two years since the Peace Conference did its work, and Mr. Tardieu is able to show us how, in many respects, the treaty has been going into effect. In our opinion, Mr. Tardieu has rendered his country a great service and has strengthened the bonds of international friendship by the frankness and honesty of his book and by the breadth of its views. In concluding chapters, one finds cheerful optimism regarding the future of France and a commendable attempt at justice toward the late enemy. In its range of economic and political information, the book answers many questions that have not been so well met by any other writer.

Modern Democracies. By James Bryce. Macmillan. Vol. I. 508 pp. Vol. II. 676 pp.

If at any time during the past twenty-five years a vote had been taken in America's colleges and universities to name the man best fitted, by studies and experience, to interpret and explain democracy as a living force in the world, it is practically certain that the choice would have fallen, by an overwhelming majority, on Lord Bryce. Not only was "The American Commonwealth" (published in 1889) a fascinating description of our Government as it functioned at the close of its first century of existence; it was at the same time a revelation of scholarly method. Up to that time most of us had thought of books on government as somehow evolved in the library or study. Here were two portly volumes that gave internal evidence of a very different origin; for every chapter bristled with facts that were drawn not from books but from life itself. It was clear that the author had established contact with "the man in the street." He wrote about things that were really happening in our political microcosm. Some of the things that he wrote about were discreditable to us, but he passed no judgments. He let the facts speak for themselves. The wisest among us recognized the essential truth of the picture. It was convincing. Two generations of Americans have been "brought up" on "The American Commonwealth" and through it know their country better. Its author had given many years to its preparation, and now at the age of eighty-three, after an even longer period of research, he offers us a treatise of broader scope which is likely to find a place beside the

earlier work in most libraries. Lord Bryce gives detailed accounts of the working of democratic government in France, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. There is also an instructive chapter on the Latin-American republics, several of which he visited shortly before the outbreak of the Great War. It should be said that Lord Bryce spent much time in each of the countries of which he writes and made in person the comparative studies that form the substance of "Modern Democracies."

Japan and the California Problem. By T. Iyenaga and Kenoseke Sato. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 249 pp.

Books and articles covering various phases of the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast are becoming numerous. It is not difficult for anyone to find in print arguments supporting his personal views on the question—possibly even catering to his prejudices. For the American reading public, however, it is a novelty to have presented in convenient form a frank, straightforward statement of the Japanese case. Such a statement appears in the volume entitled "Japan and the California Problem," and it has been prepared by two Japanese authorities whose place in American academic life entitles them to a respectful hearing. Mr. Iyenaga won the doctor's degree in history and political science at Johns Hopkins many years ago, and has long been a lecturer at the University of Chicago, where his colleague, Mr. Sato, was formerly a Fellow. Both men are thoroughly versed in American institutions, and it is safe to say that few if any living Americans know Japan more intimately than these Japanese publicists know America. This fact has an important bearing on the task that they have set themselves in the present volume, for while they have written from the Japanese standpoint, as was to be expected, their aim has been to set forth the facts about the Japanese in California and to explain those facts in the light of the traditional American attitude on the subject of immigration. Their book is absolutely free from bitterness or from any tendency to extreme statement. It is a model, in its way, of calm, well-considered exposition. Such books, whether contributed by Japanese or by Americans, cannot fail to aid materially in the solution of what at times has seemed a menacing problem.

China, Japan and Korea. By J. O. P. Bland. Charles Scribner's Sons. 327 pp. Ill.

Mr. Bland is an English writer of distinction who served for many years as secretary to the late Sir Robert Hart in China, and who last year revisited the Far East after a ten years' absence. The changes, political, social and industrial, that have taken place in that part of the world during the past decade have been more radical than we of the Western world are wont to realize. Mr. Bland was profoundly impressed by them, and because of his intimate knowledge of Chinese conditions in the past he is qualified to form an intelligent estimate of what has taken place. The first part of his book is devoted to a political survey, and the second part to "Studies and Impressions." The volume is illustrated from photographs.

AMERICAN LIFE

Finding a Way Out. By Robert Russa Moton. Doubleday, Page & Co. 289 pp.

In our editorial paragraphs, allusion is made to the work of Robert R. Moton, who succeeded Booker T. Washington as head of the institute at Tuskegee, Ala., for the agricultural and industrial training of young negroes. Mr. Moton's story of his own life is quite as creditable as Booker Washington's "Up From Slavery." The example of these two men will have inspired many another young colored boy of this generation and those to follow with determination to conquer difficulties and make a place in the world. Mr. Moton ranks with the most influential educators of our time, and he tells his story in excellent English and with modest dignity.

Rural New York. By Elmer O. Fippin. Macmillan. 381 pp.

A new series of volumes as projected under the editorship of Prof. L. H. Bailey will be of remarkable value if succeeding volumes are equal in thoroughness and intelligence to the first one, which is now available. "Rural New York" aims, as the author says, to present a bird's-eye view of the agricultural aspects of New York. Prof. Elmer O. Fippin, of the New York State Agricultural College, has had many experiences in detailed soil surveys in New York counties, and the statistical presentations in this book are enriched by the personal knowledge of the author,

who tells of crops and soils, of live stock and markets, and of rural life and conditions.

The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. By John C. Campbell. Russell Sage Foundation. 405 pp.

Readers will find references in our editorial paragraphs this month to the present condition of farmers in the Appalachian districts. The people of those regions are well described in a new book entitled, "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland," by Mr. Campbell. Many years ago Mr. Campbell went into the Southern hills to teach and help the people and became the head of useful institutions. More recently the Russell Sage Foundation set him at the task of studying thoroughly the Appalachian people, and maintained him in the conduct of a "Southern Highland Division" of the educational work of that useful foundation. He did not live to see the publication of his last work, but this volume will stand as a fine memorial to his services. Mr. Campbell regarded Southern and Northern highlands as essentially a whole, where there survive the "social customs and standards of living that were common to the daily life of our pioneer fathers, North and South alike." The population of the Southern Highlands is in the neighborhood of five and a half millions, and Mr. Campbell tells of these people in all the aspects of life. The volume is a genuine contribution to the story of the shaping of our American nationality.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Simon Bolivar. By Guillermo A. Sherwell. 233 pp.

The work of the Great Liberator, Simon Bolivar, extended over a long period of strenuous service which gives him a heroic place in the annals of a number of Latin-American republics. So far as Venezuela is concerned, however, his work for the independence of that country attained complete success in a period which, beginning in 1810, ended in June, 1821. Venezuela, therefore, shows commendable zeal during the present season in its celebration of its hundred years of achieved independence, and in its tribute to the memory of a great leader who was in his own day admired and praised by our contemporary statesmen. The story of Simon Bolivar is well told in this little volume which comes to us with the compliments of the Venezuelan Government, and which has been written by Guillermo A. Sherwell. He is characterized as "Patriot, Warrior, Statesman, Father of Five Nations." Bolivar seems to have had the perseverance, tenacity and broad patience of a Washington, along with the political wisdom of a Jefferson. He stood out in his time as one of the most admired men of the entire world. The South American hero was unfortunate in his last days, but his historic reputation has emerged without a stain.

The Founding of New England. By James Truslow Adams. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 456 pp. Ill.

Popular interest in connection with the tercentenary of the settlement of New England is doubtless responsible for the publication at this time of many books relating to the subject. In the case of "The Founding of New England," however, the work seems to have been undertaken with a more permanent end in view. The author states that he intends it to serve as an introduction to the later history of that section and to the study of its relations with the mother country and of its influence upon the nation that was to be. It is a scholarly treatment of the subject, utilizing materials recently brought to light, and necessarily leading, by its conclusions, to a revision of certain historical judgments that had long been accepted as all but infallible. The author shows that economic, as well as religious, factors played an important part in the great migration from England three hundred years ago. But the book is very largely concerned, necessarily, with the workings of what has always been known as the New England theocracy. On the whole, it is a fresh and stimulating narrative of Colonial beginnings. The author has tried to give those beginnings their correct historical setting.

